

INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES
IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CONVERSATION

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the use of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in casual speech, focusing on their interactional functions. Based on Strauss's (2002) concept of focus, which suggests that the primary functions of demonstratives are related to the addressee's attention to the referent, this study explores how Korean and Japanese speakers employ demonstratives to draw the addressee's attention more or less emphatically. The study also investigates factors that affect the choice of demonstrative and emphasizes the intertwined nature of grammar and human interaction. For comparative analysis, all demonstrative forms found in my data were divided into four reference types, exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric, and these reference types are further divided according to morphosyntactic category when necessary.

The study's findings suggest that the choice of demonstrative in Korean and Japanese is not determined solely by the degree of attention the speaker wishes to elicit, but influenced by other factors that emerge in the course of interaction. It also illustrates that each demonstrative form signals meaning differently according to its reference types. The interactional meaning of each demonstrative has various sources, including the form's anaphoric function, the speaker's emotional stance, the speaker's reliance on the addressee while searching for a referent (i.e., interpersonal involvement), and socially motivated factors, as well as the morphosyntactic categories of the demonstrative forms, which vary by language.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

* ungrammatical (when placed before a phrase or sentence)

AC Accusative particle

AD Adverbial suffix

APP Apperceptive sentence-type suffix

COP Copular

DC Declarative sentence-type suffix

DEF Deferential speech level

FML Familiar speech level

GN Genitive particle

hon. honorific word

HT Honorific title

IM Imperative sentence-type suffix

IN Indicative mood suffix

INJ Interjection

INF Infinitive suffix

INT Intimate speech level

IP Interactional particle (e.g., Japanese *nee*, *saa*, *yo*, *sa*)

NEG Negative suffix

NM Nominative case particle

NOM Nominalizer suffix

PAS Passive suffix

PL Plural suffix or particle

POL Polite speech level, suffix, or particle

PRS Prospective modal suffix

PST Past tense

Q Interrogative sentence-type suffix

QT Quotative particle

RL Relativizer (or adnominal modifier) suffix

RT Retrospective mood suffix

SH Subject honorific suffix

SUP Suppositive mood suffix

TC Topic-contrast particle

VOC Vocative particle

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Theoretical Background and the Goal of the Study

The study of demonstratives has developed from speaker-centered proximity/distance frameworks to interaction-based models in which the addressee is an important factor in a speaker's choice of a demonstrative. The interaction-based frameworks deal with more situated and context-sensitive interactional processes in discourse, and address not only the demonstratives' interactional functions but also their relationships with syntactic categories. Previous studies of the interactional functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives have mainly focused on the pragmatic functions of specific demonstrative forms. Moreover, crosslinguistic comparison of Korean and Japanese demonstratives has been neglected. This study will address this gap by taking a holistic approach to the demonstratives in these two typologically similar languages, focusing on semantic and pragmatic meanings as well as morphosyntactic categories.

For the comparative analysis, this study will adopt the theory of focus (Strauss, 2002). Strauss's concept of focus, which she developed to explain the English demonstrative system of reference, suggests that the primary functions of demonstratives are related to the addressee's attention to the referent. Strauss defined the concept of focus as "the degree of attention the hearer should pay to the referent" (p. 135) and also suggested two additional factors that can affect the choice of demonstrative: "the relative sharedness or presumed sharedness of information" and "the relative importance of the referent itself to the speaker" (p. 135). She asserted that the two additional factors are just indicators to aid inference regarding why the speaker chooses to elicit more or less of the addressee's attention, but they are nevertheless important factors to understand the dynamic use of demonstratives. That is, the choice of one demonstrative form over another indexes matters that hint of the speaker's (inter)subjective stance with regard not only to the addressee, but also to the referent being talked about. The theory considers how demonstratives' semantic meanings based on relative proximity/distance come to be construed as dynamic and interactional meanings in context, and captures almost every use of demonstratives in spoken discourse (i.e., exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric). It also emphasizes the intertwined nature of grammar and human interaction.

Meaning expressed through grammar and interaction is not static, but fluid and emergent. Thus, the meaning of demonstratives should be understood by analyzing their use in a given context.

Korean and Japanese, which share many typological features, are both honorific languages in which linguistic forms index complex human relationships. Honorific expressions indicate varying degrees of politeness, deference, and other social attitudes toward interlocutors and toward some subject and object referents. In particular, the use of honorific expressions and speech levels is largely dependent upon such social factors as age, gender, profession, and status. In order to produce socially appropriate language, therefore, Korean and Japanese speakers must know where they stand in society and their language's sociolinguistic patterns. Thus, language is socially organized, and its symbolic content is not solely a property of language but is situated and negotiated in social context (Silverstein, 1976). From this perspective, this study assumes that demonstratives convey not only propositional meaning but also social meaning. The social meanings of demonstratives are not static but change depending on contextual and interactional factors. Accordingly, the term "interactional function" in this study includes the social functions of indexing social information such as the speaker's identity, mutual relationship with the addressee, interactional roles, and so forth.

My analysis is based on data collected from dyadic casual conversation between close friends in their 20s. In order to provide a general picture of demonstrative distribution and the surface structure of demonstratives in each language, I will present a quantitative analysis of the Korean and Japanese demonstratives found in my data, focusing on their forms, their types (i.e., proximal, medial, and distal), and their categories (i.e., noun, pronoun, etc.). Obtaining such a picture is a very important step for this comparative study, because effective qualitative analysis must be based on a solid understanding of the components of languages and how they fit together to express meaning. For the comparative analysis, all demonstrative forms found in my data were divided into four reference types (exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric) and explore how Korean and Japanese demonstratives have different interactional functions according to their reference types. When necessary, reference types were further divided according to morphosyntactic category. Based on the concept of focus, this study will investigate how Korean and Japanese speakers employ demonstratives to draw the addressee's attention more or less strongly, how the semantic meaning of demonstratives based on relative proximity/distance is

actually used in spontaneous conversation in context, and the important motivating factors in the choice of demonstrative in each language.

The ultimate purpose of this comparative study is not to present an overarching explanation or description of the use of demonstratives in Korean and Japanese, but to provide potentially important information to guide further crosslinguistic research on the use of demonstratives. Capturing the usage of the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the Japanese demonstrative *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*- series through the concept of focus, this study begins from the assumption that choices of demonstratives are closely related to the degree of attention the speaker intends the addressee to pay to the referent. More important in the study, however, is the view that speakers' intentions or orientations to the entities to which they refer are very (inter)subjective and situation-bound. Hence, choices of demonstratives are not determined only by degree of desired attention, but also have to do with the indexical ground (Hanks, 1992) that the speaker frames in the course of interaction, and socially motivated factors that vary by language.

1.2. Organization of the Study

This dissertation, consisting of seven chapters, proceeds as follows: In Chapter 2, I will first discuss the nature of deictic systems, focusing on the variation observed from language to language, and then explain how the Korean and Japanese systems fit into this larger taxonomy of deictic systems. In Chapter 3, assuming that Korean and Japanese demonstratives have undergone diachronic functional (semantic, syntactic, and/or phonological) change within the social context of each language, I will introduce the theory of grammaticalization for understanding language change, and the pragmatic theories of speech acts and politeness. These theories enable us to understand not only the process of language change, but also the interrelated nature of grammar and human interaction. Chapter 4 presents how the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the Japanese demonstrative *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*- series are used in contemporary Korean and Japanese discourse, focusing on their anaphoric functions, and then explores how they have undergone grammaticalization from a diachronic perspective. Chapter 5 will describe the data collection for this study and provide a quantitative analysis of the Korean and Japanese demonstratives found in the data, focusing on their forms, their types (i.e., proximal, medial, and distal), and their categories (i.e., noun, pronoun, etc.). In Chapter 6, I will

explain the process of dividing the demonstrative forms into the four reference types (exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric), and present a qualitative study of their usage. In some cases, I will divide the reference types by morphosyntactic category as well, as I investigate how each demonstrative form signals meaning differently. In the last sections of the chapter, I summarize my findings and discuss the relation of the semantic and pragmatic features of Korean and Japanese demonstratives with the concept of focus. I also suggest other motivating factors in using demonstratives in Korean and Japanese. Chapter 7 is the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2. DEIXIS

2.1. Introduction

The origin of the word “deixis” is the Greek *deiktikos* ‘deictic’, meaning “to show” or “indicating,” which reflects the core function of deixis (Lyons, 1977). Deixis has been a subject of study in philosophy since the Ancient Greek period, but in recent years has been used in linguistics, specifically pragmatics, where, according to Diessel (2012, p. 2408) it “refers to a class of linguistic expression used to indicate elements of the situational and/or discourse context, including the speech participants and the time and location of the speech event (Bühler, 1934; Fillmore, 1997; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977).” Deixis is often involved in the grammatical concept of demonstratives and the philosophical notions of ostension and indexicality, but the terms “deictic,” “demonstrative,” “ostensive,” and “indexical” are basically the same in the sense that they describe forms that are used to call the attention of the addressee in a speech situation by pointing (Lyons, 1977).

Deixis covers not only demonstrative pronouns related to person, time, and location, but also various syntactic features determined by the context of an utterance such as verb tense (Levinson, 1983). According to Diessel (2012, p. 2409), who drew on the work of Bühler (1934) and Lyons (1977), “the use of deixis involves a particular viewpoint called the *deictic centre* or the *origo*.” Deictic expressions are often egocentric, referring to the speaker of the utterance at the time and place the speaker made that utterance. Deictic expressions can also refer to the place of the utterance in the discourse and to the social relationships among the interactants.

In this chapter, I first discuss the nature of deictic systems, focusing on the variation observed from language to language, and I then explain how the Korean and Japanese systems fit into this larger taxonomy of deictic systems.

2.2. Types of Deixis

Deictic expressions are traditionally divided into three semantic categories: person, place, and time. Person deixis comprises the personal pronouns (e.g., *I* and *you*), which denote the speech participants. Place deixis, also known as space deixis (e.g., *here* and *there*), concerns the spatial locations relevant to an utterance. Temporal deixis concerns the various times involved in and referred to in an utterance. This includes time adverbs like *now*, *today*, *yesterday*, and so

forth, and also different tenses. Thus, in the utterance *did you read this book yesterday?* the pronoun *you* is a person deictic, because it refers to the addressee; *this* is a spatial deictic because it refers to the book, the location of which denotes the spatial location of the speaker; and the adverb *yesterday* is a temporal deictic, as it refers to a time. The past tense form *did* is also a temporal deictic, as it indicates a time of reading prior to the time at which the utterance occurs.

In addition to person, place, and time deixis, some studies include two other deictic categories: “social deixis” and “discourse deixis” (Fillmore, 1997; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). Social deixis includes the use of honorifics and different speech levels, which indicate social relationships between interlocutors. Discourse deixis refers to aspects of the surrounding discourse; this can be seen as an extension of spatial deixis.

This study begins with a literature review, looking into how person, spatial, temporal, and other types of deixis may be systematically structured crosslinguistically.

2.2.1. Person Deixis

Expressions of person deixis basically refer to the speaker or addressee of an utterance, and may include information on sex and number.

All languages have particular expressions for referring to speakers and addressees. In English, the distinctions are generally indicated by first and second person pronouns (e.g., *I* and *you*), but in other languages, an independent word, a clitic, or an inflectional affix may be used. As Lyons (1977, p. 638) claimed, there is an important difference between first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns: first and second person—but not third person—are roles filled by the participants in the speech event (Levinson, 1983, p. 69). In other words, first and second person are inherently deictic, but third person is not. One manifestation of this difference is that whereas the first and second persons are often referred to essentially by personal pronouns, third person is referred to by other lexical expressions. There are many languages that do not have third person pronouns, but it is likely that every language has first and second person pronouns. In many of the languages that lack personal pronouns for the third person, demonstrative pronouns are often substituted (Siewierska, 2004, p. 5). When we say *he is popular* or *the guy is popular*, *he* in the first sentence and the full NP specified by the definite article *the* in the second sentence may also be used deictically. However, they are often anaphoric rather than deictic, indicating a previously mentioned referent. Anderson and Keenan

characterized third person pronouns and NPs with definite articles as “weak deictics” (1983, p. 262).

In many languages, person pronouns also acquire a nondeictic role, indicating an impersonal referent. According to Siewierska (2004), in many South-East Asian languages, the speaker and the addressee are expressed by common nouns. For example, in Thai, speech participants are referred to by various nominal expressions such as *phom* ‘I’ (lit. ‘hair’) and *tua* ‘you’ (lit. ‘body/self’), which are also used with their literal meaning. In many languages, this function is commonly fulfilled by bound morphemes on the verb while independent pronouns are used when the referent is emphasized.

There are also some languages that use fourth person terms. According to Siewierska (2004), these forms are used for a variety of purposes. For example, in French, the fourth person can be used for the first person plural; in Algonkian languages, they are used to refer to a less important third person (p. 7).

2.2.2. Person and Number

In addition to first and second person, number is a frequent feature of person deixis. In the literature, it is generally assumed that the vast majority of the world’s languages make a distinction between a first person singular (‘I’) and a first person plural (‘we’), and between a second person singular (‘you’) and a second person plural (‘you’).¹

Anderson and Keenan (1985) observed that some languages, such as Fijian, have four number distinctions: singular, dual, trial, and plural. Based on the fact that many languages, such as Classical Arabic and Proto-Indo-European have dual and plural forms, but not trial forms, we can assume that if a language has a trial form, it also has a dual form. Anderson and Keenan discussed the idea that the plural of the first person is conceptually different from the plural of other pronominal expressions in that *we* does not express multiple instances of *I*. Rather, the plural of a first person pronoun refers to a group of people including the current speaker. Two basic types of first person plural pronouns can be distinguished: inclusive pronouns, referring to a group of people including both speaker and hearer, and exclusive pronouns, referring to a group of people including only the speaker. Such inclusive/exclusive distinctions commonly

¹ In a worldwide sample of 260 languages, Dunn (2005) found only two languages that do not have separate singular and plural forms of first and second person pronouns.

extend to clitics, personal affixes, and possessive forms as well, as in the Malagasy examples in (1).

(1) Malagasy (Anderson & Keenan, 1985, pp. 264–265)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. (i) <i>H-andeha izahay.</i>
 FUT-go we (EXCL)
 ‘We (but not you) will go.’</p> | <p>(ii) <i>ny trano-nay</i>
 the house-ours (EXCL)
 ‘our house (but not yours)’</p> |
| <p>b. (i) <i>H-andeha isika.</i>
 FUT-go we (INCL)
 ‘We (including you) will go.’</p> | <p>(ii) <i>ny trano-tsika</i>
 the house-ours (INCL)
 ‘our house (including yours)’</p> |

Anderson and Keenan (1985) discussed sequences of pronouns that refer to the same persons/numbers or different persons/numbers. Many languages have a set of reflexive pronoun forms (e.g., *myself*, *yourself*) for referents that are identical in person and number, although often only some of these differ from the ordinary pronouns. For example, French distinguishes reflexive and nonreflexive third person pronouns, but not reflexive and nonreflexive first and second person pronouns.

When sequences of pronouns and numbers are different, occasionally a pronominal element may be fused with another element in a sentence. In this case, phonological fusion probably took place and the form fossilized. According to Anderson and Keenan (1985), such forms are much more common when the verbs agree with both object and subject. For instance, Kapampangan (Philippines; Mirikitani, 1972, cited in Anderson & Keenan, 1985) has three person and two number (singular and plural) distinctions, with inclusive and exclusive first person plural forms, as shown in (2).

(2) Kapampangan (Anderson & Keenan, 1985, p. 266)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. <i>Binasa mya namam?</i>
 read you + it too
 ‘Did you read it too?’</p> | |
| <p>b. <i>Saupan da kang maglinis bale.</i>
 help I you clean house
 ‘I’ll help you clean the house.’</p> | |
| <p>c. <i>O sige, bayaran ku ne.</i></p> | |

all right pay I already + it (= *na* ‘already’ + *ya* ‘it’)
 ‘All right, I’ll pay it already.’

In (2a), the two distinct pronouns ‘you + it’ are shown by a single combined form, while in (2b), both ‘I’ and ‘you’ are needed; (2c) shows that a pronominal element may also be fused with an element other than a pronoun.

2.2.3. Gender

Another semantic feature that may be expressed by person deixis is gender, usually with a two- or three-way (masculine, feminine, neuter) distinction. As far as English is concerned, there is gender distinction only in the third person singular forms *he/she*. Siewierska (2004) found in a worldwide sample of 378 languages only 21 that carry a gender feature in the first and/or second person pronouns. Moreover, in most of these languages, the gender marking is limited to the singular. In Siewierska’s sample, third person pronouns are about five times more likely to be gender marked than first and second person pronouns. Even in languages in which the pronoun forms do not distinguish gender, such distinctions may appear in inflectional person marking on other sentence elements. According to Anderson and Keenan (1985), for instance, in Hebrew, the first person singular pronoun does not express gender, but gender “agreement” appears in the predicate, as in the examples in (3).

(3) Hebrew (Anderson & Keenan, 1985, p. 270)

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>Ani medaber.</i>
I speak (masc. sg)
‘I (male) speak.’ | b. <i>Ani medaberet.</i>
I speak (fem. sg)
‘I (female) speak.’ |
|---|--|

2.2.4. Place Deixis

The basic function of place or space deixis is demarcation of the deictic center or zero point, which usually refers to the location of the speaker in order to identify a place or a referent in a place. Spatial deictic expressions appear in a variety of categories: locative adverbs (e.g., *here*, *there*), demonstrative adjectives (e.g., ‘*this* pencil’), and demonstrative pronouns (e.g., ‘I like *that*’). In addition, a language may have bound verbal morphology indicating action toward or

away from the location of the speaker/addressee, and verbal roots that have deictic meaning, as in English *come*, *go*, *bring*, and *take* (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). However, the interpretation of these motion verbs differs from that of genuine deictic words such as demonstratives, in that they denote a directed motion event between two locations and do not always involve a deictic center.

2.2.4.1. Systems of Spatial Deixis

All languages have at least a two-way spatial deictic system, contrasting proximal and distal referents. English, for instance, has a two-term system consisting of proximal demonstratives (e.g., *here* and *this*) and their distal counterparts (e.g., *there* and *that*). There are many other languages that have a two-term deictic system, such as French, which has two bound morphemes, *ci* ‘proximal’ and *là* ‘distal’, to indicate the relative distance of the referent from the deictic center (Diessel, 1999). The demonstrative roots themselves are distance-neutral, but *ci* and *là* are attached either to a demonstrative pronoun or a noun (Table 1). They are usually obligatory to form a demonstrative pronoun. However, the demonstrative determiners *ce*, *cette*, and *ces* are frequently used without *ci* or *là* without any distance distinction. Thus, while *cette maison* ‘DEM house’ is neutral with respect to distance from the speaker, *cette maison-ci* indicates closeness to the speaker while *cette maison-là* indicates distance from the speaker.

Table 1. French Demonstrative Pronouns and Determiners (Diessel, 1999, p. 37)

	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS		DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
SG.M	<i>celui-ci</i>	<i>celui-là</i>	<i>ce livre-ci</i>	<i>ce livre-là</i>
SG.F	<i>celle-ci</i>	<i>celle-là</i>	<i>cette maison-ci</i>	<i>cette maison-là</i>
PL.M	<i>ceux-ci</i>	<i>ceux-là</i>	<i>ces livres-ci</i>	<i>ces livres-là</i>
PL.F	<i>celles-ci</i>	<i>celles-là</i>	<i>ces maisons-ci</i>	<i>ces maisons-là</i>

(SG: Singular; PL: Plural; M: Male; F: Female)

Anderson and Keenan (1985) discussed the fact that many languages (e.g., Latin, Japanese, Southern Sotho, Turkish, Irish, and Spanish) employ three basic demonstrative adjectives/pronouns. In three-term systems, the first term represents something close to the

speaker and the third term represents something remote, relative to the space where the speaker and addressee are located. However, the middle term has different interpretations in different languages: It may refer to a location in the medial distance relative to the deictic center or to a referent close to the addressee. Based on this feature, Anderson and Keenan (p. 282) suggested that languages can be divided into two systems: “distance-oriented” (e.g., Spanish and Southern Sotho) and “person-oriented” (e.g., Japanese and Palauan) systems.² Diessel (2012) claimed that distance-oriented systems tend to have fewer deictic terms—usually three—than person-oriented systems, which may involve four.

While two- and three-term systems are crosslinguistically very common, there are also languages with more than three deictic terms. In a worldwide sample of 234 languages, Diessel (2005) found 127 languages with two deictic terms, 88 languages with three deictic terms, and 12 languages with more than three deictic terms. Anderson and Keenan (1985) also found languages having four and five terms, although they were not sure whether these systems are “a genuine instance in which the basic dimension of spatial deixis (proximity to Sp) is extended to” the fourth and fifth terms such that they are parallel to the first three terms. Fillmore (1982) and Diessel (1999) maintained that there are never really more than three distance systems and all larger systems either involve the addressee as a point of reference or other deictic dimensions such as visibility or elevation.

2.2.4.2. Systems with More than One Dimension of Contrast

Anderson and Keenan (1985) discussed dimensions of contrast other than distance in deictic systems. For instance, Hausa (Anderson & Keenan, 1985) has a two-term deictic system, but also marks whether or not the matter has been previously mentioned, and in Woleaian, additional terms are distinctively used for contrastive purposes (Anderson & Keenan, 1985).³ These

² Anderson and Keenan (1985) admitted that although they placed most of their example languages into one of the two systems, in some cases, it is difficult to assign a particular system. Turkish, for instance, makes a three-way distinction among *bu*, *şu*, and *o*. *Bu* marks the space of the speaker; *o* refers to things remote from both speaker and addressee, and is also used to mark a referent previously mentioned in the discourse. However, the use of *şu* is somewhat ambiguous in that it is not used as a demonstrative meaning “near addressee.”

³ Citing Sohn’s (1975) study of Woleaian, Anderson and Keenan (1985) state that in Woleaian, “the basic terms of the demonstrative system are (a) *ye* ‘this (near speaker)’, (b) *mwu* ‘that (near addressee)’, (c) *la* ‘that (nearer addressee or away from both)’, and (d) *we* ‘that (unseen but in minds of speaker and addressee)’.” Both *mwu* and *la* in this system have the meaning of “near addressee.” However, these demonstratives can be suffixed with *-l* to specify contrastive location: *Mwuul* has only the meaning of “near addressee,” while *laal* has only the meaning of “away from both speaker and addressee” (p. 289).

additional dimensions are not directly related to physical location relative to the speech situation but rather to other discourse factors, that is, previous mention and contrast (Anderson & Keenan, 1985).

Other additional dimensions found in deictic systems are contrasts in terms of whether the referent is visible or invisible, at a higher or lower elevation, uphill or downhill, upriver or downriver, or in a particular direction along a coastline (Diessel, 1999). These contrasts are often expressed by particular demonstratives that are part of the deictic system. For instance, many Native American languages have a particular demonstrative for an invisible referent, that is, a referent that is out of the speakers' sight. Diessel (1999) discussed an example from Tümpisa Shoshone (Uto-Aztecan, North America), which has four demonstrative roots that differentiate between three (visible) entities in the surrounding situation and a fourth entity that is invisible from the speaker's point of view: (a) *i*- 'right here', (b) *e*- 'here nearby', (c) *a*- 'there (visible)', and (d) *u*- 'there (not visible)'. Similarly, semantic features such as "uphill" and "downhill" are commonly expressed by particular demonstrative forms. For instance, Usan (Sepik, New Guinea) has four demonstratives locating a referent in the surrounding situation; two of them express the usual contrast between proximal and distal referents, whereas the two other terms indicate whether the referent is above or below the deictic center (Diessel, 1999).

2.2.5. Temporal Deixis

Temporal deixis concerns the various times involved in and referred to in an utterance. It manifests itself most notably as tense. Tense can generally be divided into two distinct uses: absolute and relative. Absolute tense involves a deictic temporal relation relative to the point at which an utterance is made (e.g., past, present, or future), whereas relative tense is construed as a temporal relation to a different point in time, the moment considered in the context (e.g., pluperfect; Comrie 1985). There are languages that make as many as nine distinctions of temporal span (Comrie, 1985), and there are languages like Korean and Japanese that distinguish only past and nonpast.

Time deixis often interacts with measures for time periods such as day, week, month, or year (Levinson, 1983). In English, the two concepts are jointly expressed in complex NPs consisting of a demonstrative and a noun (e.g., *this week*, *next week*), but the combination of time deixis and time measurement can also be lexicalized, as in the temporal adverbs *today*, *yesterday*, and

tomorrow (Diessel, 2012). Natural languages generally have such temporal adverbs, but most languages do not have a system of temporal demonstrative adjectives similar to the spatial demonstratives (e.g., *this*, *that*).

In language, time is commonly objectified by metaphorical structuring in terms of spatial concepts (Lakoff, 1993). The conceptual relationship between space and time is reflected in the frequent development of temporal expressions from spatial terms. For instance, temporal adverbs such as *then* are often based on spatial deictics, which evolve from a deictic root with spatial meaning (Diessel, 1999). In obvious ways, there are many words sharing readings in time and in space, as in *near*, *far apart*, *ahead of*, *behind*, and so on. In the majority of languages, spatial demonstratives are also used as temporal deictics without any modification (Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1999).

According to Anderson and Keenan (1985), there are two different ways of representing the passage of time: “one may either think of ‘the world’ as constant, and of time as flowing past it from the future into the past; or one may think of time itself as constant and of ‘the world’ as passing through it from the past into the future” (p. 296).⁴ In the “moving time” metaphor, we may speak of “the coming Sunday,” and days “gone by,” while in the “moving world” metaphor, we may speak of “the week ahead.”

In Mokilese (Austronesian, Pacific), there is a person-oriented three-term system, where spatial demonstratives are employed to indicate the temporal domain: the demonstrative suffixes *-e* ‘this (near speaker)’, *-oawe* ‘that (near addressee)’, and *-o* ‘that (away from speaker and addressee)’. The suffix *-e* exclusively marks future time (e.g., *wihkke lakapw* [lit. week-future tomorrow] ‘next week’); the suffix *-oawe* marks the present (e.g., *wihkkoawe* [lit. week-present] ‘this week’); and the suffix *-o* marks the past (e.g., *wihkko aio* [lit. week-past yesterday] ‘last week’; Harrison, 1976, cited in Anderson & Keenan, 1985).⁵ In languages like Korean and Japanese, which are also person-oriented three-term systems, demonstratives are also employed to express time reference. As we will see in the later sections of this chapter, however, in Korean

⁴ According to Lakoff (1993), there are two variants of the time-as-space metaphor, the ego-moving metaphor and the time-moving metaphor. In the ego-moving metaphor, the observer is moving along a time line into the future (e.g., *We are approaching Easter*), whereas in the time-moving metaphor, moving events on the time line are passing a stationary observer (e.g., *His birthday is coming up soon*).

⁵ According to Anderson and Keenan (1985), there is no particular basis for the concept that the future is near to the speaker, the present near to the addressee, and the past distant from the speaker and the addressee. That is, these demonstratives are specialized as a set of time deictics in this language.

and Japanese, the meaning of the demonstratives in the temporal usage is not always predictable. For instance, a speaker proximal adnominal demonstrative combined with a temporal bound noun as in *i ttay* ‘this time’ (Korean) and *kono toki* ‘this time’ (Japanese) does not always mark future time as in Mokilese; rather, such forms are mostly construed as referring to the present or past, depending on the context. The main reason for this is that Korean and Japanese demonstratives are used nondeictically (e.g., anaphoric usage) as well as deictically. Compared to Korean and Japanese demonstratives, the Mokilese demonstratives seem to carry relatively inherent temporal senses that are not obviously based on the metaphor of time as space.

2.2.6. Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis has to do with deictic expressions that refer to preceding, ongoing, or following utterances in spoken or written discourse (Diessel, 1999, 2005, 2012; Dixon, 2003; Fillmore, 1997; Himmelmann, 1996; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). Discourse deixis is very similar to time deixis in that any point in a discourse can be thought of as a point in time. For example, the preceding portions of a discourse are construed as occurring earlier in time, and the later portions of a discourse are thought of as occurring later in time. However, while the center of time deixis is defined as the moment of utterance, the center of discourse deixis is realized by a deictic word in the ongoing discourse. Deictic expressions such as *the aforementioned* and *the latter* are examples of typical discourse deictics, but expressions of discourse deixis are most frequently taken from nondeictic time domains. For instance, words like *last* and *next*, which are commonly used as deictic time expressions, may be used with reference to linguistic elements in the ongoing discourse, as in *in the last paragraph* and *in the next chapter*. However, words like *above* and *below* are used as discourse-deictic elements mostly in written discourse (Fillmore, 1997).

2.2.7. Social Deixis

Social deixis involves social information encoded in a speech utterance, such as social relationships between participants and their social status (Fillmore, 1975; Levinson, 1979). Social deixis is closely associated with person deixis in that the information encoded in social deictics includes age, sex, social class, and kin relationships. Fillmore (1975, p. 76) listed the following linguistic phenomena used for the purpose of social deixis: devices for person

marking (e.g., pronouns); various speech levels; various utterance types dependent on certain properties of the speech act; different forms of names, titles, and kinship terms; linguistic performances that can count as social acts such as insults, greetings, and expressions of gratitude; and, finally, various linguistic devices to maintain the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

The best known example of social deixis is the T/V phenomenon,⁶ which is almost universal in European languages. T/V stands for a T form, named after Latin *tu* (second person singular pronoun) and a V form, from Latin *vos* (second person plural pronoun). Many European languages employ these two types of second person pronouns to indicate the social relationship between the speech participants. The T form is used in informal and casual contexts, whereas the V form is used in formal and polite contexts. For instance, in German, the T form *du* is used to address family members, friends, and young children, whereas the V form *Sie* refers to strangers and people in professional relationships. A parallel contrast between familiar and respectful forms occurs in other European languages including French and Russian (Table 2). The polite forms in these languages are based on plural pronouns, but social deixis can also be expressed by special honorifics derived from common nouns such as those for “master,” “servant,” and “king” (Siewierska, 2004).

Table 2. T/V Forms in German, French, and Russian

Language	Familiar form	Polite/respectful form
German	<i>du</i>	<i>Sie</i>
French	<i>tu</i>	<i>vous</i>
Russian	<i>ty</i>	<i>vy</i>

The use of honorifics is characteristic of East Asian languages such as Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese, which seem to lack genuine person deictics (Cooke, 1968; Siewierska, 2004, cited in Anderson & Keenan, 1985, p. 271). For instance, Thai has 25 first person forms, including dialectal variants, borrowings, plurals, and so on. Many of the pronominal forms for all persons in these languages are “either internally complex rendering literally the concept of

⁶ Brown and Gilman (1972) first discussed the T/V phenomenon and described the use of the T/V pronouns along two dimensions: power and solidarity.

deference by the term or else independently exist as kin terms (father, grandfather, respected uncle, etc.) or as simple common nouns (master, slave, body, self, etc.)” (Anderson & Keenan, 1985, p. 271).

Another complex system of indicating social relationship exists in modern Nahuatl (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). Indicators of social relationship are coded in various ways in Nahuatl, including with pronouns and verbal affixes referring to first or second person participants. Different affixes may be attached to verbs to indicate such social relations as “(i) intimacy, (ii) neutral or somewhat formal, (iii) respect, (iv) ‘compadrazgo’ (obtaining between persons standing in a ritual relation of kinship by virtue of being parent/godparent or godparent/godparent of the same child)” (Anderson & Keenan, 1985, p. 272).

Other kinds of socially deictic information can be encoded just about anywhere in the linguistic system. Anderson and Keenan (1985) provided an overview of some of these. Addressee honorifics, for example, can appear in a special oratorical style (e.g., in Samoan), in a difference between “high” and “low” linguistic styles (e.g., in Javanese), in morphology and syntactic constructions (e.g., in Korean and Japanese), and in a categorical style distinction in the vocabulary (e.g., in some languages in Australia).

2.3. Deixis in Korean and Japanese

Korean and Japanese are honorific languages in that intricate human relationships are systematically encoded in the structure and use of the languages. Speakers will use different forms of expressions and different speech levels depending on both to whom and about whom they are talking. Major parts of the Korean and Japanese honorific systems can be identified as deixis. For example, many addressee terms and personal pronouns are person deictics, and addressee and referent honorifics are social deictics. Social factors of the speaker and addressee such as differences in age, status, and sex play an important role in the languages’ usage. Thus, the deictic systems of Korean and Japanese should be understood based on this underlying social deixis.

Demonstratives are also important in explaining the Korean and Japanese deictic systems because they play a role in forming a variety of compound words. A large number of deictic forms are generated by combining a demonstrative and a noun denoting person, place, or time.

This section focuses on how personal, spatial, and temporal information are systematically structured in these languages' deictic systems.

2.3.1. The Deictic System in Korean

2.3.1.1. Person Deixis

Korean is a context-based/situation-oriented language in which personal pronouns are often omitted during conversation when the context is understood by the interlocutors. The use of personal pronouns is restricted to situations in which the speaker needs to focus on or contrast individuals. In Korean, the choice among pronominal forms for first and second person is determined by nonlinguistic factors involving interpersonal relationships between speech participants, including social status, kinship relations, and age differences. First and second person pronominal forms always correspond to the different speech styles; they are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Korean First and Second Person Pronominal Forms (adapted from Sohn, 1999, p. 207)

	Singular	Plural
First person		
Plain	<i>na</i>	<i>wuli(-tul)</i>
Humble	<i>ce</i>	<i>ce.huy(-tul)</i>
Second person		
Plain	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne-huy(-tul)</i>
Familiar	<i>caney</i>	<i>caney-tul</i>
Intimate	<i>caki</i>	<i>caki-tul</i>
Blunt	<i>tangsin</i>	<i>tangsin-tul</i>
Deferential	<i>elusin</i> (rare)	<i>elusin-tul</i> (rare)
Reflexive 'self'		
Plain	<i>ce(-casin)</i>	<i>ce(-casin)-tul</i>
Neutral	<i>caki(-casin)</i>	<i>caki(-casin)-tul</i>
Deferential	<i>tangsin(-casin)</i>	<i>tangsin(-casin)-tul</i>

Korean has two first person pronouns, *ce* and *na*. *Na* is a plain form, and *ce* is a humble form of *na*. In addition to these pronouns, numerous nonpronominal substitutes such as *soin* (small person), *soca* (small child), *sosin* (small servant), and *sosayng* (small life) were frequently

used in the past, but are obsolete in contemporary Korean. *Wuli* and *ce.huy* are plural forms of *na* and *ce*, respectively, and can be followed by the plural suffix *-tul*.

In most languages that employ addressee honorifics, second person pronouns are closely related to address terms, but Korean lacks a polite second person pronoun. According to Sohn (1999), the only appropriate pronominal form for an addressee whose status is higher than the speaker's is *elusin*, which refers only to a respected senior male. In place of second person pronominals, reference terms such as honorific titles (e.g., *sacang-nim* 'company president'; *kwacang-nim* 'section chief'; *sensaygnim* 'teacher') and kinship terms (e.g., *apenim* 'father'; *emenim* 'mother'; *enni* 'older sister of a female'; *hyeng* 'older brother of a male') are frequently used. The plain second person pronoun *ne* 'you' is restricted to close friends and people with a lower status than the speaker. *Caney* 'you' is frequently used by older males and when the addressee is a young adult rather than a child. The most common uses of *canney* are from a father-in-law to a son-in-law and from a professor to a college student. The intimate level of the first person pronoun *caki* (lit. self-body) is frequently used between young married or nonmarried couples. According to Koh (2002), *caki* is used by females with greater frequency. The reason, she claims, is that in Korean couples men are usually older than women, so men tend to call women *ne* 'you'. Unlike *caki*, *tangsin* (lit. that-body) is mutually used as the second person pronoun by relatively older couples, about age 40 and older. In this way, *caki* and *tangsin* are used between interlocutors whose relationships are close. In addition, a person may use *tangsin* when starting a fight with an interlocutor who s/he does not know. In this situation, *tangsin* carries a hostile and aggressive connotation. The second person pronouns *tangsin* and *caki* are also used as third person reflexive pronouns.

Third person pronouns are closely related to referent honorifics. However, strictly speaking, Korean does not have any third person pronouns,⁷ but does have numerous third person substitutions. Korean demonstratives play a very important role in these substitutions. The basic deictic elements are the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce*. These elements are used to refer to, or point at, a person or an object in terms of the distance between the speaker and/or the addressee and the referent. Thus, *i* is used to refer to an entity close to the speaker; *ku* to an entity close to the addressee; *ce* to an entity distal from both the speaker and the addressee. These

⁷ According to Lee and Ramsey (2000), the basic third person pronoun is *ku* 's/he, it', which is also used as a medial demonstrative. Unlike *ku*, the other two Korean demonstratives, *i* and *ce*, do not appear as independent pronouns.

demonstratives can be used to indicate a third person by themselves, although such usage is less common. Instead, they are usually combined with bound nouns or nouns⁸ such as *-pun*, *-i*, *saram*, *ca*, or *nom* ‘person’, depending on the degree of deference and the relative distance: *Pun* and *i* are deferential, *salam* and *ca* are plain, and *nom* is derogatory (Sohn, 1999). In contemporary spoken Korean, the third person pronouns *i-i* ‘this person’, *ku-i* ‘that person’, and *ce-i* ‘that person over there’ are also used for indicating the husband or boyfriend of the speaker to an interlocutor. The only difference is that unlike *i-i* ‘this person’ and *ce-i* ‘that person over there’, *ku-i* ‘that person’ is used mostly to point to a third person who is not present in the speech situation. When a Korean husband refers to his wife, he generally uses the expression *ku salam* ‘that person’, which indicates a somewhat lower social status, whereas wives mainly use *ku-i* ‘that person’ to refer to their husbands. The form *ku-i* seems to have the function of signaling the speaker’s neutral stance in terms of social status, in contrast to *ku-pun* ‘that esteemed person’, which signals the high social status of the person referred to (Lee & Ramsey, 2000). The bound noun referring to objects, *-kes* ‘thing’, is attached to basic demonstratives to refer to inanimate entities.

As previously mentioned, Korean has three reflexive pronouns, *ce(-casin)*, *caki(-casin)*, and *tangsin(-casin)*. Unlike the humble first person pronoun *ce*, the reflexive *ce* does not carry a polite meaning, but is derogatory. The neutral form of *caki* is used to refer to a referent who has some distance from both the speaker and the addressee. The third person reflexive pronoun *tangsin* is an honorific for referents who are personally related to either the speaker or the addressee.

2.3.1.2. Gender and Number

Korean is one of the languages that lack gender (Chang, 1984). There are two third person pronouns to refer to male and female: *ku* ‘he’ and *ku-nye* ‘she’. However, they are mostly used when translating texts from other languages. Korean originally had only a gender-neutral third person pronoun, *ku*, which could mean *she* or *he*. However, it has increasingly been interpreted as a male pronoun. The pronoun *ku-nye* has slowly gained ground as a female counterpart to *-ku* due to the influence of translated texts from European languages. However, it

⁸ When a demonstrative is combined with a common noun, it functions as a demonstrative determiner.

is still mostly restricted to an anaphoric function in specific styles of written language; *ku-nye* began to be used frequently in newspapers only several years ago.

The Korean plural suffix *-tul*⁹ behaves differently than the English plural *-s*; the English suffix can be attached to almost all countable nouns, whereas the Korean suffix is used mostly for human nouns (Sohn, 1999). When this suffix is used with the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce*, they become plural personal pronouns. *I-tul*, *ku-tul*, and *ce-tul* refer to people who are not deictically identified, and are translated as ‘they’. Similarly, when the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* take case markers, for example, with the topic marker *-nun* as in *i-nun*, *ku-nun*, and *ce-nun*, these forms may be anaphorically used to refer to the previous sentence or utterance. In addition, whereas *ku-nun* has gained ground as a third person pronoun, *ce-nun* has lost its function as the third person pronoun in written Korean.¹⁰ However, *ce-nun* can be the humble form of ‘I’, as *ce* is the humble form of the first person pronoun *na* ‘I’.

2.3.1.3. Spatial Deixis

Korean demonstratives are used to form compounds relating to spatial deixis. As we have seen, Korean semantically has a three-term deictic system that is conceptually person-oriented, in which the medial term is reserved for an entity near the addressee (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). The basic deictic elements *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are prefixed to directional suffixes such as *-li* ‘way’, bound nouns such as *-eki* ‘place’, and nouns such as *kos* ‘place’ and *ccok* ‘way’ in order to form place deictics. *I-li*, *ku-li*, and *ce-li* refer to the direction toward the speaker, toward the addressee, or away from both the speaker and the addressee, respectively. According to Sohn (1994, p. 296), the place deictics *yeki*, *keki*, and *ceki* are historically composed of the demonstratives and the place-bound noun *-eki*: *yeki* (< *i* ‘this’ + *eki* ‘place’) ‘here’, *keki* (< *ku* ‘that [near you]’ + *eki*) ‘there (near you)’, and *ceki* (< *ce* ‘that over there’ + *eki*) ‘over there’.¹¹ These compounds are used as pronouns as well as adverbs.

Spatial deixis is frequently expressed with the two deictic motion verbs *o-ta* ‘come’ and *ka-ta* ‘go’. *O-ta* ‘to come’ denotes a movement toward the speaker while *ka-ta* ‘to go’ denotes a

⁹ The Korean plural suffix is *-tul*, but the derivational suffix *-huy* occurs with the plain form *ne* ‘you’ and the humble form *ce* ‘I’, and they can be followed optionally by the plural suffix *-tul*.

¹⁰ For example, in a 1999 revision of the Korean Bible, the third person singular pronoun *ce* and the third person plural pronoun *ce-huy(tul)* were replaced by *ku* and *ku-tul*, respectively.

¹¹ The formal differences in *yeki* and *keki* are due to phonological change: The vowels in *i* and *ku* become *-e*.

movement away from the speaker. Thus, to say *I'm coming to your party* in Korean, the verb *ka-ta* is used because the speaker will move toward the addressee, leaving the place where the speaker is.

2.3.1.4. Temporal Deixis

Korean has many temporal adverbs such as *cikum* ‘now’, *ittaka* ‘after a while’, and *akka* ‘a while ago’, but the deictic elements *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are also frequently used to form temporal deictics. Temporal bound nouns such as *-ttay* and *-cey* contribute temporal meaning to compound references: *i-ttay* ‘this time’, *ku-ttay* ‘that time’, and *cepttay*/**cettay* ‘a while ago’.¹² *I-ttay*, *ku-ttay*, and *cepttay* are used as nouns but can be used as adverbs with no change in form.

Like the deictic center of place, the deictic center of time varies with the conceptualization of the speech situation. *I-ttay* does not necessarily mean the time concurrent to the speech time, but may also refer to a larger time period that includes the time of the current speech event, similar to the meaning of *cikum* ‘now’ in certain contexts, as in (4).

(4) Korean (Chang, 1984, p. 122)

<i>Ittay-ga</i>	<i>enu</i>	<i>ttay-in-ci</i>	<i>a-nya?</i>
this time-NM	what	time-RL-whether	know-Q (INT)
‘Do you realize what an important time it is now?’			

According to Chang (1984), *cep-ttay* is used only to refer to a past time, while both *i-ttay* and *ku-ttay* may refer to a time prior to the time of utterance; *i-ttay* carries an additional sense of vividness of the past event or state. Interestingly, *ku-ttay* may also refer to a future time of which the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge, as in *kulem, wuli ku-ttay pop-si-ta* ([lit. then. we. **that time**. see-propositive-blunt] ‘Then, see you at that time, which you and I know’).

I-cey ‘this time’, *ku-cey* ‘that time’, and *ce-cey* ‘long time ago’ are temporal demonstratives, consisting of a demonstrative and the temporal bound noun *-cey*. According to Lee (2007), the bound noun *-cey* is a shortened form of the combination of *cek* ‘time’ + *ey* ‘at’. The demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* with the bound noun *-cek* might have been used as nouns, and they are now used as time adverbs with the time particle *ey*. Song (2011) claimed

¹² The form *cettay* is not acceptable in many dialects in Korean.

that *cek* + *ey* became shortened to *cey*, and *cey* eventually began to function as a bound noun to be directly attached to the demonstratives, thus forming *i-cey*, ‘this time’, *ku-cey* ‘that time’, and *ce-cey* ‘long time ago’.

2.3.1.5. Discourse Deixis

Discourse deictics are expressions that refer to elements in ongoing spoken or written discourse. Discourse deictics in Korean often involve spatial expressions such as *ap/twuy* ‘front/back’, *wi/array* or *mit* ‘top/bottom’, and *taum* ‘next’; these expressions are used for referring to any point in time in the discourse. For example, *ap* ‘before’ as in *ap-(ey)se malha-yss-tusi* ‘aforementioned’, *twuy* ‘later’ as in *twuy-eyse caseyhi* ‘in detail later on’, and *taum* ‘next’ as in *taum muntan-eyse* ‘in the next paragraph’ all indicate preceding or following discourse. Expressions such as *sanki* ‘the above-mentioned’ and *haki* ‘the below-mentioned’ are limited to written discourse. Expressions like *isang* ‘above’ and *iha* ‘below’ are also frequently used in written discourse, but can be used in formal spoken discourse as well.

The Korean demonstratives are also used with reference to linguistic elements in the ongoing discourse. For example, both the proximal demonstrative *i* and the medial demonstrative *ku* can refer to preceding or following portions of the discourse. However, in written discourse that tends to pertain strongly to the current state of the events being discussed, as in newspapers and magazines, the use of the proximal *i* is dominant for both functions (Lee & Song, 2010). The distal demonstrative *ce* is rarely used for discourse deixis.

2.3.1.6. Social Deixis

In Korean, the choice of an appropriate lexical item, grammatical form, and speech level is determined by nonlinguistic factors involving interpersonal relationships between speech participants, including their social status, ages, and psychological closeness/distance. According to Sohn (1994), the Korean honorific system is the most extensive, systematic, and complex among all known languages. Korean honorifics can be categorized into two types: addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. Addressee honorifics concern the speaker’s regard for the addressee in a speech situation, whereas referent honorifics concern the speaker’s regard for a referent. Addressees and referents who are higher in status than the speaker, older in age than the speaker, and psychologically distant from the speaker receive honorification.

Addressee honorifics include: (a) speech levels, (b) first and second person pronouns, and (c) addressee terms. First, the speaker needs to choose an appropriate speech style depending on the person to whom the speaker is talking. Contemporary Korean has four major speech styles, deferential, polite, intimate, and plain (Sohn, 1999).¹³ The first two styles are called *contays-mal* ‘polite talk’ and the last two styles are called *pan-mal* ‘half-talk’. *Contays-mal* ‘polite talk’ is generally used with an addressee who is psychologically distant, regardless of his/her social status or age, whereas *pan-mal* ‘half-talk’ is used with those who are close to the speaker. In addition to the speech styles, Korean has an extensive number of address-reference terms according to social stratification, such as honorific titles, professional titles, rank terms, sibling terms, neutral titles, loanword titles, junior titles, familiar vocative forms, and intimate vocative forms (Sohn, 1999).

Referent honorifics are divided into subject honorifics and object honorifics depending on their referent. The referent may be the addressee or a third party absent from the speech situation. Referent honorifics are encoded in linguistic elements such as the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* as in *kasita* ‘to go’, hierarchical reference terms with honorific titles as in *kyoswunim* ‘professor’, case markers such as the honorific subject marker *kkeyse* and the honorific dative marker *kkey* ‘to’, personal pronouns and address terms, and euphemistic/suppletive words such as *yensey* for age and *tayk* for one’s residence (Byon, 2000).

2.3.2. The Deictic System in Japanese

2.3.2.1. Person Deixis

Japanese has a large inventory of personal pronouns,¹⁴ which correlate with different speech levels, genders, dialectal differences, and so on (Iwasaki, 2013; Martin, 1991/1975;

¹³ Sohn claims that Korean has six speech styles including blunt and familiar speech styles, but only four are used in contemporary Korean.

¹⁴ According to Iwasaki (2013), Japanese personal pronouns are derived from concrete nouns that indirectly refer to a person, for example, first person *watakushi* ‘private’ and *boku* ‘servant’; second person *kimi* ‘emperor, lord’ and *kisama* ‘nobility’. The second person pronouns *omae* ‘honorable front’ and *temae* ‘in front of a hand’ are derived from spatial expressions. There are also many personal pronouns in Japanese that derive from demonstratives; for example, the second person pronoun *anata* was a speaker-distal direction/location demonstrative in the 9th–13th centuries.

Miller, 1967; Shibatani, 1990). Martin (1991/1975), for instance, considered 21 forms to be first person pronouns. Table 4 shows the most common first and second person pronouns.

Table 4. Japanese First and Second Person Pronominal Forms (adopted from Iwasaki, 2013, p. 59)

	Informal	<----->	Formal
1 st person	<i>ore</i> (M) – <i>boku</i> (M) – <i>atashi</i> (F)	<i>watashi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
2 nd person	<i>omae</i> (M) – <i>kimi</i> (M) – <i>anta</i> (F)	(<i>anata</i>)	-

These forms are linked with gender and speech level. *Watashi* ‘I’ and a more formal form, *watakushi*, are used regardless of gender, but *atashi*, an informal form of *watashi*, is only employed by females and the informal forms *ore* and *boku* are mostly employed by males. Of the informal second person pronouns, *omae* and *kimi* ‘you’ are used primarily by males and *anta* is used only by females. Speakers employ these second person pronouns to refer to someone they consider an equal or an inferior. *Anata* ‘you’ is the most formal second person pronoun, and is employed by both males and females, but its use toward a higher status addressee is generally avoided. Speakers instead use titles (e.g., *sensei* ‘teacher’, *kachoo* ‘section chief, etc.) or kinship terms (e.g., *obasan* ‘auntie’, *ojisan* ‘uncle’, etc.) to refer to higher status addressees. *Anta* is a phonologically reduced form of *anata* that indicates a lower degree of formality. Therefore, the use of second person pronouns in Japanese indicates a very intimate relationship between interlocutors. However, *anata* is commonly used by females to address their husbands or lovers. Two second person pronouns not included in Table 4 are the derogatory forms *temee* and *kisama*, which express a strong sense of contempt and are used only in emotional, argumentative speech.

There are two third person pronouns in Japanese, *kare* ‘he’ and *kanojo* ‘she’. These can be used by a speaker in reference to someone of equal or lower social status. They are also commonly used with the meaning of ‘boyfriend’ and ‘girlfriend’, respectively. As in Korean, demonstratives play a very important role in third person pronoun nominal substitutions in Japanese. The basic deictic elements are the demonstrative stems *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-*; *ko-* is used to refer to an entity close to the speaker; *so-* to an entity close to the addressee; and *a-* to an entity distal from both the speaker and the addressee. The demonstrative stems *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* are bound morphemes that are combined with various elements to form pronouns, determiners, or adverbs, depending on the degree of deference and the relative distance. In addition, these

demonstrative forms are combined with various category identifiers. For example, when a speaker refers to someone who is socially superior, s/he can employ a demonstrative determiner + an honorific person identifier such as *kata* ‘person’ to create a deferential nominal expression, as in *kono kata* ‘this person’, *sono kata* ‘that person’, and *ano kata* ‘that person over there’.

2.3.2.2. Gender and Number

As shown in the previous section, compared to Korean, Japanese is a relatively gender-specific language in terms of the use of personal pronouns, especially when it comes to the third person pronouns *kare* ‘he’ and *kanojo* ‘she’. In the case of the first and second person pronouns that reflect the sex of the speaker, they can only be used in the informal speech level, and they are used in reference to a social equal or inferior.

Plural forms of Japanese personal pronouns are created by adding plural suffixes such as *-domo*, *-tachi*, *-ra*, and *-gata* to the singular forms. As in Korean, the Japanese plural suffixes are used mostly for human nouns. They differ in their degree of politeness toward the addressee or referent. The suffix *-gata* is the most polite form, and can be used with nouns denoting a high social status as in *sensee-gata* ‘teacher-PL’. The plural suffixes *-tachi* and *-ra* are used for the associative plural meaning (Iwasaki, 2013) and have the meaning of X and his/her associates, for example, *megumi-tachi* and *megumi-ra* ‘Megumi and her friends’, and *kimi-tachi* and *kimi-ra* ‘you guys’. In contrast, the suffix *-gata* does not carry the associative meaning when it is combined with high social status nouns; for example, *sensee-gata* ‘teachers’ and *gohujin-gata* ‘ladies’ are simply plural forms. On the other hand, *-domo* is the most humble form, so it is combined with the humble first person forms as in *watakushi-domo* ‘I-PL’ and with derogatory nouns as in *yatsu-domo* ‘guy-PL’. As for the third person pronouns *kare* ‘he’ and *kanojo* ‘she’, which can be used in the informal speech level, they frequently take *-tachi* and *-ra*, and sometimes *-domo*, but never *-gata*.

2.3.2.3. Spatial Deixis

Japanese, like Korean, has a three-term deictic system that is conceptually person-oriented (Anderson & Keenan, 1985). The basic deictic elements *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* are prefixed to suffixes such as *-ko* and *-chira* to form place deictics and directional deictics, respectively. *Koko* ‘here’ refers to the place where the speaker is, *soko* ‘there’ refers to where the addressee is, and *asko* ‘that place over there’ refers to a place distant from both the speaker and the addressee. This usage overlaps with that of the directional deictics *kochira*, *sochira*, and *achira*, or their short

forms *kocchi*, *socchi*, and *acchi*. These deictics carry part of the directional meaning, but are still pronominal so they take the directional particle as well.

In Japanese, the deictic distinction between *go* and *come* is indicated by the verbs *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’. However, the deictic usages involved in changes of the relative position of speaker and addressee differ from the usages in English and other Indo-European languages. *Kuru* ‘come’ is used when the movement is directed toward the place where the speaker is. Therefore, when someone is invited to a party, s/he can use *iku* but not *kuru* to express the intention to attend (i.e., ‘I’m going’, but not ‘I’m coming’). Thus, the use of *kuru* ‘come’ brings the speaker to the deictic center more rigidly to the place of speech than does the use of *come* in English (Shibatani, 1990).

2.3.2.4. Temporal Deixis

Some of the pronominal demonstratives can have a temporal meaning. *Kore kara*, for example, may be read as meaning either ‘from this one’ or ‘from now on’. As we have already seen, it is very common to use spatial metaphors to refer to temporal events or relations. Accordingly, adnominal demonstratives are frequently connected with temporal expressions such as *hi* ‘day’, *toki* ‘time’, and *tabi* ‘occasion’, as in *kono hi* ‘this day’, *sono toki* ‘that time’, *ano tabi* ‘that occasion’, and so on. However, the meaning of such terms is not always predictable. The reason is that the demonstratives are used not only deictically, but also nondeictically (e.g., anaphorically).

The meaning of temporal referent seems to be less clearly delimited than the spatial referents. *Kono toki*, for instance, in its basic reading means ‘this time’ (speaker proximal), but it can also be used to arouse a sense of immediacy where the reference time is not close to or identical with the time of the utterance, and, anaphorically, it can mean ‘then’ or ‘thereupon’. Similarly, *kono goro* ‘this time’ may be used to mean ‘now’, ‘nowadays’, or ‘recently’; and *kono aida* ‘this time/period’ can mean ‘the other day’ or ‘a few days ago’. As we have seen in Korean temporal deixis, the choice of one demonstrative form over another in Japanese deixis is not determined exclusively by the relative distance of an entity (i.e., deictic use), but also by other factors (such as anaphoric function and pragmatic function).

2.3.2.5. Discourse Deixis

Like Korean, Japanese uses deictic time expressions as discourse deictics. For instance, *mae* ‘before’, *atto* ‘after’, and *tsugi* ‘next’ can indicate preceding or following discourse. Discourse deictic expressions like *jooki* ‘the above-mentioned’ and *kaki* ‘the below-mentioned’ are only used in written discourse. Expressions like *ijoo* ‘above’ and *ika* ‘below’ are used in both written and spoken discourse, but, if the latter, in very formal situations only.

The Japanese demonstratives are also used for discourse deixis to indicate the relation of earlier or forthcoming segments of the discourse. For example, both the proximal demonstrative *ko*-series and the medial demonstrative *so*-series can refer to a preceding or a following portion of the discourse. However, the use of the proximal *i*-series is dominant in written discourse because it maintains topic persistence and increases the relevancy of the current state of the matter under discussion. The distal demonstrative *a*-series is rarely used for discourse deixis in written or spoken discourse, although these forms do occur in highly interactive situations between interlocutors, in which both the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge of the utterance or proposition.

2.3.2.6. Social Deixis

Japanese honorifics, like Korean honorifics, can be categorized into two types: addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. They are commonly regarded as markers of social distance between speakers and addressees, and between speakers and referents, respectively (Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990). Addressees and referents who are higher in status or older in age than the speaker, or psychologically distant from the speaker, will be spoken to or of with honorification. Addressee honorifics include the polite endings *-desu/-masu*, which are used in formal and nonintimate speech situations; the nonuse of *-desu/-masu* endings occurs in informal and intimate situations. According to Martin (1964), in-group versus out-group relations are one of the important factors in whether a speaker uses addressee honorifics.

Just like Korean referent honorifics, Japanese referent honorifics are further divided into two sets, *sonkee-go* ‘respect language’ and *kenjoo-go* ‘humbling language’. The referent may be the addressee or a third party absent from the speech situation. *Sonkee-go* is used to express respect for a referent’s actions and is marked by grammatical constructions such as *o-Verb-ni naru* and *Verb-(r)areru* as in *okaerininaru* and *kaerareru* ‘return’. *Kenjoo-go* is generally used to

indicate the speaker's or his/her in-group members' actions, and is marked by the *o*-Verb-*suru* construction. In addition to these grammatically derived referent honorifics, Japanese employs euphemistic/suppletive words such as *ukagau* for *kiku* 'to ask' and *itasu* for *suru* 'to do'.

CHAPTER 3. GRAMMATICALIZATION

Korean and Japanese demonstratives appear in various morphological forms and serve various pragmatic functions in actual conversation. Their pragmatic functions are closely related with their referential meanings, and can be seen as extensions of the concept of the relative distance of an entity from some central referent. Assuming that Korean and Japanese demonstratives have undergone diachronic functional (semantic, syntactic, and/or phonological) change within the social context of each language, this chapter introduces the theory of grammaticalization as a framework for understanding language change, and the pragmatic theories of speech acts and politeness. These theories enable us to understand not only the process of language change, but also the interrelated nature of grammar and human interaction.

3.1. The Theory of Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization has been regarded as a dynamic linguistic process that leads from lexical to grammatical categories or from grammatical to more grammatical categories since the French linguist Meillet first defined the term “grammaticalization” as “the attribution of a grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word” (Meillet, 1912, cited in Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 131). Earlier studies placed importance on the change from a lexical item to a grammatical item, taking a diachronic approach to language. More recent studies have explored a wider range of linguistic processes, including changes in syntactic constructions as well as in individual items, and taken a panchronic (i.e., both diachronic and synchronic) approach (Hopper & Traugott, 1993/2003). Compared to the diachronic perspective, the synchronic perspective focuses more on dynamic patterns of language use in discourse at a moment in time, emphasizing the pragmatic attributes of linguistic forms (Hopper & Traugott, 2003).

3.1.1. Unidirectionality

Grammaticalization as viewed from the diachronic perspective is typically unidirectional. That is, once the grammaticalization of a form begins, it proceeds along certain paths to acquire new grammatical functions, and is “basically irreversible” (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 132).

Unidirectionality applies to three main linguistic levels. First, phonological changes may occur through reduction, coalescence, complete loss, and so forth. Second, on the

morphosyntactic level, grammatical restructuring occurs. Third, on the semantic and pragmatic level, the source lexeme may acquire a new function along with meaning shift. Meaning shift and grammatical restructuring occur simultaneously, whereas phonological change may occur subsequently, but is not mandatory. Traugott (1982, p. 256) hypothesized the direction of semantic-pragmatic change as “propositional > textual > expressive.” According to Traugott, the propositional function has to do with “the resources of the language for making it possible to talk about something” (p. 248), and the textual function is related to intersentential linking (e.g., cohesion-making). The expressive function lies in the most pragmatic domain, expressing subjective, speaker-based attitudes and points of view.

Diverse unidirectional grammatical clines proposed in the literature are presented below (Craig, 1991; Greenberg, 1991; Givón, 1979; Wiegand, 1987, cited in Sohn, 2000, p. 154). Researchers’ emphases (e.g., nouns, verbs, structures, etc.) and the degree of adherence vary, but most agree that the direction of change is not random.

- a. discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero
- b. parataxis > coordination (hypotaxis) > subordination > complementation > compounding > affixation
- c. major category > minor category > adpositions > affixes

3.1.1.1. General Principles of Unidirectionality

Hopper and Traugott (2003, pp. 99–130) elucidated some general principles of unidirectionality, as illustrated below. They considered the first three principles as diachronic issues, and the principle of “layering,” which is derived from those diachronic processes, as a synchronic issue. I review the concepts of these principles in the following paragraphs.

- A. Generalization
- B. Decategorialization
- C. Some processes participating in unidirectionality
 - a. Specialization
 - b. Divergence
 - c. Renewal
- D. Layering

A. Generalization: Hopper and Traugott (2003) placed importance on both the generalization of meaning and the generalization of grammatical functions, explaining the concept of generalization as “a process which can be characterized, in part, as an increase in the polysemies of a form, and in part as ‘an increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status’ (Kuryłowicz, 1976 [1965]: 69)” (p. 101). They argued that the lexical items that grammaticalize are usually general, for instance, “superordinate terms” such as *say*, *move*, and *go*. Such items come to be used in more and more contexts; that is, they gain wider distribution and more polysemies. As opposed to, for example, Givón (1979), Hopper and Traugott argued that generalization does not show semantic bleaching, but is rather a balance between older (concrete) meanings and newer (more abstract) meanings, resulting in a “pragmatic strengthening and increase in informativeness with respect to grammatical functions” (p. 101).

B. Decategorialization: Hopper and Traugott (2003) took decategorialization as a structural process and focused mainly on two factors: (a) the tendency of “relatively prototypical members of Noun, Verb, and Adjective categories to become less prototypical in their distribution” (p. 107; and (b) the frequency of occurrence: “the more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be” (p. 107). Thus, when a form is grammaticalized from a lexical to a grammatical item, it tends to lose the morphosyntactic properties of a major category such as nouns or verbs, and to become a member of a minor, relatively closed category (e.g., pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.). Hopper and Traugott summarized this path schematically: “major category (> intermediate category) > minor category” (p. 107). The intermediate category is exemplified by adjectives and adverbs, derived from “(participial) verbs and (locative, manner, etc.) nouns respectively” (p. 107). Asserting that most languages have the two major categories, noun and verb, while the minor categories vary crosslinguistically, Hopper and Traugott suggested that, diachronically, all minor categories are grammaticalized from major categories.

C. Some processes participating in unidirectionality: The following processes contribute to generalization and decategorialization.

a. Specialization: Only a small number of grammatical forms eventually become generalized in meaning and use. Hopper and Traugott (2003) exemplified this with the French negator *pas*. The Modern French negative construction, especially in the written form, consists of a negative

particle *ne* before a verb and usually *pas*, after it (e.g., *Il ne boit pas* ‘He doesn’t drink’). The general negator *pas* derives from the noun ‘step, pace’, and Old French had many reinforcing forms like *pas* that could come after a verb, such as *point* ‘dot, point’, *mie* ‘crumb’, *gote* ‘drop’, *amende* ‘almond’, *arestes* ‘fish-bone’, *beloce* ‘sloe’, *eschalope* ‘pea-pod’, and so on. However, *pas* is the only form that has become specialized as a negator in Modern French, especially in the spoken language, in which the ordinary verbal negation *ne* is often dropped (e.g., *je sais pas* ‘I don’t know’).

b. Divergence (or “split”): Hopper (1991) defined divergence as “when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items” (p. 22). One example is the English indefinite article *a/an*, in which the old form is *an*. The Old English *an* meant “one, a certain” and did not have the indefinite meaning as it does today. Hopper and Traugott claimed that a change in divergence must be seen in terms of variation, suggesting a formula for change: “ $A > A/B (> B)$ ” (p. 122). The new form B coexists with the original single form A, and A and B may each go their own way or continue to coexist.

c. Renewal: In divergence either the original form A or the new form B may take on new meaning in the context where they are frequently used. This is the process of renewal. Intensifiers are especially subject to renewal, perhaps because they mark emotional states. For example, *very* in *very good*, have been used in various meaning such as *very*, *fearfully*, *incredibly*, *really*, *truly*, and so forth, and the sets of preferred choices change rapidly. Renewal results primarily in alternate ways of expressing similar things, and is often periphrastic (e.g., phrasal). Over time, however, the choice is going to be reduced as they eventually become generalized in meaning and use (i.e., specialization).

D. Layering: Layering is a synchronic result of unidirectionality. Hopper (1991) asserted that “within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging” (p. 22). In this process, the old forms and meanings may interact with newer forms and meanings. Thus, a variety of different forms and constructions with similar functional purposes may coexist, as in contemporary English tense-aspect-modal indicators (e.g., vowel changes in the verb stem as in *take*, *took*; (weak) alveolar suffixes as in *look/looked*; modal auxiliaries as in *will take/shall take*, and so on). It is generally assumed that the more bound forms have longer histories, and the less bound forms are more recent in their present grammatical function.

3.1.2. Mechanisms of Grammaticalization

3.1.2.1. Reanalysis and Analogy

Reanalysis and analogy are considered to be the major mechanisms of language change. Reanalysis has to do with a change to the grammatical (syntactic and morphological) and semantic properties of forms (e.g., main verb > auxiliary verb; *be going to* > *be gonna*), whereas analogy relates to the extension of existing items' functions based on an analogical rule. Hopper and Traugott (2003) exemplified these mechanisms with the English word *falsehood*. *-hood* is a derived morpheme of the Old English noun, *had* 'person, condition, rank'. *Had* came to be combined with words referring to persons to create compound nouns (e.g., *childhad* 'childhood', *biscopphad* 'bishophood'), and was eventually reanalyzed as a derived morpheme. Then, by analogy, its use extended to new contextual environments, so it could even be combined with a noun for an abstract concept, as in *falsehood*. Hopper and Traugott emphasized that reanalysis and analogy are different mechanisms and have different effects. Reanalysis essentially has to do with "linear, syntagmatic, often local, reorganization and rule change" whereas analogy involves "paradigmatic organization, change in surface collocations, and in patterns of use" (p. 68).

3.1.2.2. Pragmatic Inferencing

A great deal of work on grammaticalization since the early 1980s has focused on meaning changes. However, researchers have not agreed upon whether meaning changes are semantic (e.g., Bybee & Pagliuca, 1985) or pragmatic (e.g., Traugott & König, 1991), or whether they are motivated primarily by metaphorical processes (e.g., Claudi & Heine, 1986; Sweetser, 1990) or by metonymic as well as metaphorical processes (e.g., Heine, Claudi, & Hünemeyer, 1991; Traugott & König, 1991, cited in Hopper & Traugott, 2003). However, Hopper and Traugott (2003) considered meaning change as pragmatic and associative (both metonymic and metaphorical) processes. They also distinguished between "that part of semantics that concerns lexical, phrase, and sentence meaning, and that part of pragmatics that concerns inferences about linguistic meaning based on contextual assumptions" (p. 76).

Definitions of metaphor vary, but the most common concept is transfer from a basic, usually concrete meaning to one that is more abstract. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), metaphorical processes are "processes of inference across conceptual boundaries, and are typically referred to in terms of 'mappings,' or 'associative leaps,' from one domain to another"

(p. 84). For example, Heine et al. (1991, p. 157) described the metaphorical abstraction process in terms of a few basic categories in a domain of conceptualization as follows:

Person > Object > Space > Time > Process > Quality

A given category is more abstract than any category to its left; for example, an object is more abstract than a person; time is more abstract than space, objects, and persons, and so on.

As for metonymy, based on Anttila's (1989) definition of it as semantic transfer through contiguity and indexicality, Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggested that "metonymy points to ('indexes') relations in contexts that include interdependent (morpho)syntactic constituents" (p. 88). For example, the future meaning of *be going to* derived from the auxiliary *go*, but the contiguity of the purposive *to* must have been an important factor in the major syntactic change in the rebracketing of [[...be going] [to (purposive clause)]] as [...be going to V (activity)].

Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggested that metonymic and metaphorical inferencing are not mutually exclusive, but complementary, and that of the two major mechanisms of language change, reanalysis operates on the syntagmatic axis often associated with metonymy, whereas analogical extension operates on the paradigmatic axis associated with metaphor. An example is the development of *be going to*. The syntactic change occurs through metonymy; but its function expands further so it can be used as a future marker with any verb, not only action verbs. Thus, we can say that *be going to* gains a new grammatical function as the future marker by analogy, which is a metaphoric process.

3.1.3. (Inter)subjectification

In the development of the English future marker *be going to* (Section 3.1.2), reanalysis with metonymy was a prerequisite for a change through analogy. Metonymy and metaphor serve very important cognitive functions as motivation for language changes involving a speaker's subjective stance toward a context or situation. The construction *be going to* was used as an expression of motion with an intention to act; it was then used as an intentional nonmotion expression; and finally, it could be used to express the speaker's subjective assessment of the future (e.g., *an earthquake is going to destroy that town*). As we can see, the semantic-pragmatic change is closely related with the speaker's cognitive and communicative stance toward what is

said, which is called “(inter)subjectification” (Langacker, 1990; Lyon, 1982; Traugott, 1982; Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

Traugott (1982, p. 247) proposed the following path of semantic-pragmatic change in the early stages of grammaticalization: propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)). In this path, concrete propositional meaning can gain either textual (cohesion-making) or expressive (abstract and pragmatic) meanings or both. For example, the deictic demonstrative *that* is basically used to point to an entity distant from the speaker in a speech situation, but gains a textual meaning referring to an entity previously mentioned. The frequent use of the textual meaning of *that* develops to gain expressive meanings (abstract and pragmatic) in discourse, indicating shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee. Traugott suggested that expressive components of such linguistic forms include not only cohesion, which serves to create cohesive discourse (e.g., *and* and *therefore*, as well as anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns, and so on) but also, in the most pragmatic domain, speaker attitudes toward addressees and even evaluation of what is said. Traugott also proposed that subjectification and intersubjectification are the mechanisms by which “meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs (subjectification), and...once subjectified, may be recruited to encode meanings centered on the addressee (intersubjectification)” (p. 35). Thus, in the development of subjective meaning, subjectification indicates the speaker’s role as an important factor in meaning change, while intersubjectification focuses on the role of the addressee.

Traugott and Dasher (2002) proposed subjective *possibly* and *even* as markers of speaker assessment, and intersubjective *please* as a marker of speaker acknowledgment of and attention to the addressee, but emphasized that intersubjectification has a very close relationship with subjectification. According to them, expressions that have discourse functions such as politeness markers, hedges, and other mitigators are fundamentally subjective as well as intersubjective, because speaker attention to the addressee’s image involves the speaker’s subjective stance. In this sense, language may be inherently both subjective and intersubjective in the pragmatic domain (Benveniste, 1971) because (inter)subjectivity seems to be indispensable in communicating with another person: The speaker pays attention to the addressee’s needs in order to achieve successful communication, in which the addressee must also be a speaking subject. Therefore, (inter)subjective meanings are “interpersonal” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) and involve

social deixis in that the meanings come directly from the interaction of the speaker and the addressee (Traugott & Dasher, 2002, p. 23).

3.2. Grammaticalization of Discourse Markers

In the last few decades, the study of spoken discourse has gained popularity, and many linguists have become interested in the functions of discourse markers (DMs). It has been found that DMs have more functions than previously thought. Considering DMs from a synchronic perspective, scholars have debated the issue of how to define DMs, and some DMs are named according to what they are supposed to contribute to discourse.

Schourup (1982) proposed that DMs (under the label “discourse particles”) such as *like*, *well*, and *you know* function to reflect the inner state of the speaker (p. 15). DMs play an important role in bridging thoughts and actual utterances, and can therefore reveal the stance and orientation of a speaker toward a proposition or addressee.¹⁵ Schiffrin’s (1987) work on DMs is remarkable in that she saw DMs as serving an integrative function in discourse and contributing to discourse coherence. She analyzed the expressions *and*, *because*, *but*, *I mean*, *now*, *oh*, *or*, *so*, *then*, *well*, and *y’know*, as used in unstructured interview conversations, and defined them as “sequentially-dependent elements that bracket units of talk” (p. 31). That is, DMs are not contextually independent elements, but rather “create a bridge” from prior discourse to immediately upcoming discourse (p. 253). For example, the discourse marker *then* looks back anaphorically to prior discourse and forward cataphorically to subsequent discourse, expressing the speaker’s attitude to the sequential relationships in the discourse. In line with Schiffrin’s work, Fraser (1999) found that DMs contribute to the coherence of discourse. Fraser considered DMs to be a well-defined pragmatic category within the grammar of a language, and analyzed DMs as lexical expressions in three syntactic classes: conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. There are exceptions, but in general, DMs express “a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1” (p. 931). According to Fraser, when a lexical item functions as a DM, it has several semantic characteristics: (a) a DM links two discourse segments and does not contribute to the propositional meaning of either

¹⁵ Schourup (1982) associated DMs with “routinization” (p. 7). He claimed that the more an item is used routinely, the more it is apt to lose contact with its literal meaning. Thus, DMs carry both the routinized meaning and a bleached meaning, which is in line with the multifunctional characteristic of DMs. Schourup listed *well*, *good-bye*, *take care*, and *see you* as examples of routinized expressions.

segment; (b) the meaning of a DM is procedural, not conceptual;¹⁶ and (c) an individual DM has a specific, core meaning, but its specific interpretation is “negotiated” by the context, both linguistic and conceptual (p. 945).

In the process of grammaticalization, lexical items become more grammatical. However, discourse markers are not grammatical markers; rather, they have various pragmatic functions, through which they express the attitudes and beliefs of a speaker in discourse, and they can occur in any position in an utterance or sentence. In many cases, their removal would not make an utterance sound ungrammatical, but would leave out important pragmatic functions that would contribute to the discourse. From a diachronic perspective, DMs can be regarded as pragmatic markers that have pragmatically acquired new functions through the grammaticalization process over time.

Focusing on language change over time, Traugott (1989) asserted that pragmatic inferences are a very important factor in the development of DMs, and proposed three tendencies in semantic-pragmatic change: (a) meanings based on external, described situations become meanings based on internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situations; (b) meanings based on external or internal situations become meanings based on textual and metalinguistic situations; (c) meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker’s subjective belief state or attitude toward the proposition (pp. 34–35). Traugott considered the first two tendencies to be metaphorically motivated because they are based on similarities, and the third to be metonymically motivated because pragmatic inferences are present in the context. In this semantic-pragmatic path of change, meanings tend to refer less to concrete situations and more to discursive situations, less to objective situations and more to (inter)subjective ones. This kind of pragmatic strengthening represents “strategic negotiation of speaker-hearer interaction, and articulation of speaker attitude” (p. 51).

Referring to DMs as “pragmatic markers,” Brinton (1996) described them from the perspective of grammaticalization: They are phonologically reduced and unstressed, forming a separate tone group; morphosyntactically, they occur either outside the main syntactic structure or loosely attached to it, generally occurring in the sentence-initial position; on the semantic

¹⁶ In contrast, an expression with “a conceptual meaning specifies a defining set of semantic features...an expression with a procedural meaning specifies how the segment it introduces is to be interpreted relative to the prior, subject to the constraints mentioned earlier” (Fraser, 1999, p. 944).

level, they have lost much of their propositional meaning; they are multifunctional, “operating on the local (i.e., morphophonemic, syntactic, and semantic) and global (i.e., pragmatic) levels simultaneously, as well as on different planes (textual and interpersonal) in the pragmatic component” (p. 33). Brinton included phrases (e.g., *I mean, you know*), adverbs (e.g., *actually, now*), and interjections (e.g., *oh, aha*) as examples of DMs. Among the aforementioned characteristics, the attribute of having little propositional meaning is most reflective of the grammaticalization process on the functional level (semantic and syntactic change). According to Brinton, DMs are clearly subjective and are modal in a broad sense in that they indicate the speaker’s subjective stance toward the cohesiveness of the discourse. He also noted that DMs are intersubjective as well, in that they do not only indicate the stance of the speaker, but also serve in strategies to express concern for the addressee’s “face” when used as hesitation or mitigation markers (e.g., *well, actually, y’know*).

Fitzmaurice’s (2004) historical study of discourse markers demonstrates how markers of a speaker’s epistemic stance can develop into interactive markers of exchange in discourse over time. Focusing on the changes of meaning associated with the lexical expressions *you know*, *you see*, and *you say* from 1650 to the present day, she claimed that the interactive functions of these expressions mostly appear in face-to-face dyadic interaction, while their subjective and intersubjective functions are found in both written and spoken discourse. She also proposed that the subjective function is a precondition for the development of the intersubjective and interactive functions. That is, the development of interactive functions does not eliminate subjective or intersubjective functions; rather, the forms accumulate multiple functions. Thus, the bare verbs *see* and *say* as interactive discourse markers have more interactive functions than the intersubjective forms *you see* and *you say*; they can function as attention-getters to draw the addressee’s attention to the current interaction.

As this section has shown, DMs are highly (inter)subjective or interpersonal, as they play an important role in the pragmatic domain by contributing to maintaining interactive conversation.

3.3. Grammaticalization of Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions. Demonstratives exist in all languages, although they can differ widely in terms of their form, meaning, and use. They are primarily used to focus the addressee’s attention on objects, persons, or locations in the speech situation, but they also

are commonly used to focus the addressee's attention on an entity in interpersonal communication, establishing "a joint focus of attention" (Diessel, 2006). Following Halliday and Hasan (1976), Diessel (1999) used the notion *exophoric* for demonstratives used with reference to entities in the speech situation, and the term *endophoric* for all other uses in spoken (or written) discourse. The endophoric usage is often divided into anaphoric, discourse deictic (e.g., Fillmore, 1982; Levinson, 1983), and recognitional (e.g., Diessel, 1999; Himmelmann, 1996). Anaphoric demonstratives have a noun phrase antecedent in the preceding discourse. Unlike exophoric demonstratives, anaphoric demonstratives involve a language internal function in that "they are used to track participants of the preceding discourse" (Diessel, 1999, p. 96). Discourse deictic demonstratives direct the addressee's attention to propositions in the discourse (e.g., a clause, sentence, or an entire context). They serve as an overt link between two propositions: "the one in which they are embedded and the one to which they refer" (Diessel 1999, p. 101). The recognitional demonstratives are different from the anaphoric and discourse demonstratives in that they do not refer to an entity in the surrounding discourse, but mark the speaker's belief that the addressee knows the referent.

In grammaticalization theory, one of the most basic assumptions is that all grammatical markers are derived from content words, notably nouns and verbs. However, many scholars have posited that demonstratives are a second major source for grammatical markers. Across languages, demonstratives are commonly grammaticalized to definite articles, third person pronouns, relative pronouns, conjunctions, and so on. It is often assumed that all of these uses derive from the exophoric use (Diessel, 1999; Himmelmann, 1996; Lyons, 1977). Exophoric demonstratives are primarily used to point to an entity in the speech situation. However, when they come to refer to abstract and indefinite entities, in particular, the use of discourse deictic and recognitional demonstratives involves cognitive mechanisms. For example, they direct the addressee's attention to linguistic elements in the discourse and are used to express a particular relationship between prior and later discourse or between interlocutors (e.g., emotional closeness, sympathy, and shared knowledge). Thus, it is a natural assumption that demonstratives can lose their deictic force and develop into grammatical or (inter)subjective markers. For example, many languages use demonstratives in place of third person pronouns; the processes are very similar because the precondition for a demonstrative to become a third person pronoun is to lose deictic force (Siewierska, 2004).

Diessel (1999) noted that in the literature, demonstratives are commonly classified as grammatical markers functioning as pronouns and determiners, and the grammaticalization of demonstratives always emerges from one of the anaphoric, discourse deictic, or recognitional demonstratives. As for the exophoric demonstratives, which serve language-external functions, they must first undergo a stage in which they serve language-internal functions (e.g., as anaphora) in the course of grammaticalization. Anaphoric demonstratives are frequently grammaticalized into third person pronouns (Givón, 1984); discourse deictic demonstratives into conjunctions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003); and recognitional demonstratives into determinatives¹⁷ (Himmelmann, 1996). In the process that results in relative clause markers, when a speaker is uncertain whether or not the intended referent is shared by the addressee, s/he often employs additional or elaborated information to evoke the addressee's memory of the intended referent. Thus, this process often involves relative clauses or other adnominal demonstratives. The frequent use of these morphological forms strengthens their additional pragmatic meanings based on the speaker's beliefs of shared ground with the addressee, and the forms eventually develop into grammatical or (inter)subjective markers. According to Himmelmann (1996), recognitional demonstratives are frequently used as hesitation fillers in the course of searching for an appropriate expression, signaling that the intended referent is also known to the addressee. Himmelmann also asserted that distal demonstratives and adnominal forms are generally associated with this function.

3.4. Theories of Politeness

3.4.1. Speech Act Theory

Speech act theory is based on the study of how speakers and addressees use language (Yule, 1996). Language is not only for communication but is also a type of action. In his famous work, *How to Do Things with Words*, Austin (1962) suggested that most utterances are performative in nature. That is, the speaker is nearly always doing something by saying something. His speech act theory proposed that saying something involves three kinds of acts: locutionary (the literal meaning of an utterance), illocutionary (the conventional force of an

¹⁷ According to Diessel (1999, p. 135), citing Himmelmann (1997, p. 77), recognitional demonstratives are the relative markers that indicate the nominal head of a relative clause, and are used not only adnominally, but also as independent pronouns as, in *those who backed a similar plan last year hailed the message*.

utterance, e.g., a request, an offer, or a promise), and perlocutionary (the results or effects of the utterance in a given context). Thus, for example, when somebody says, “Is there any salt?” at the dinner table, the locutionary act is the expression of the literal meaning of asking about the presence of salt; the illocutionary act is to ask the addressee to give the speaker some salt, and the perlocutionary act is the direct effect performed by the listener by offering salt. The locutionary act refers to the sense of what is said, whereas the illocutionary act refers to its force, that is, what was meant. Unlike locutionary/illocutionary acts, perlocutionary acts are external to the performance of the speech act itself.

The concept of an illocutionary act is central to the concept of a speech act. Searle (1975) developed the speech act theory beyond the basic belief that language is used to perform actions. He identified five illocutionary roles: representatives (or assertives) (e.g., suggesting, complaining, and reporting), directives (e.g., requests and commands), commissives (e.g., promises and oaths), expressives (e.g., congratulations and thanks), and declaratives (e.g., decrees and declarations).

Because illocutionary force is viewed as a property of an utterance that is related to the speaker’s intention that an act be performed, rather than as the successful performance of the act, the addressee’s interpretation of what the speaker intends is very important. However, it is not easy to understand the speaker’s intention (i.e., the illocutionary purpose). For example, the statement, “It is hot here,” can suggest several different illocutionary acts. It might be meant as a request to open the window, or it might be blaming someone who did not keep the room cool.

Searle (1975) also introduced the notion of an “indirect speech act,” defining it as an utterance “in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another” (p. 60). As he illustrated, the example of “Can you pass me the salt?” is an interrogative and so expresses a question. But the question has a different purpose, which is a request. According to Searle, in indirect speech acts the speaker relies on mutually shared background information and on the addressee’s ability to interpret the underlying purpose. Searle explained that the “indirect” part of indirect speech acts is related to general principles of cooperation necessary for conversation. That is, indirect speech acts have to do with the theory of politeness.

3.4.2. The Concept of Politeness

Brown and Yule (1983) suggested that language has two interrelated functions: transactional and interactional. The transactional function is concerned with the efficient transmission of information while the interactional function is about maintaining smooth interpersonal relationships. In speech acts, Grice's (1975) cooperative maxims (of quantity, "be informative"; of quality, "be truthful"; of relevance, "be relevant," and of manner, "be clear and brief") emphasize the transactional function of language. The interactional function of language, on the other hand, is used to avoid conflict. Many types of speech act can be face threatening, for example, by imposing pressure on the addressee (e.g., requests, advising, etc.), or the speaker (e.g., refusals, apologies, etc.) (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Thus, the interactional function of language often involves and requires various politeness strategies. Politeness strategies are related to how people interpret the meaning of utterances, and several scholars have proposed universal politeness principles and strategies, although their realization varies in different cultures (Brown & Levinson, 1987). For example, Lakoff (1973) proposed three principles of politeness: (a) "don't impose," (b) "give options," and (c) "make the audience feel good." The first rule emphasizes that the speaker should keep an appropriate social distance from the interlocutor. The second principle suggests that the speaker should not insist that the interlocutors accept his/her request or desire, so s/he needs to give them the option to refuse. The use of indirect speech or deferential speech provides a good example of giving a clear option to accept or refuse (e.g., *I wonder if you could possibly open the door for me?*). The third rule emphasizes that the speaker should be nice to the addressee to maintain or create a feeling of solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. Similarly, Leech (1983, p. 119) proposed six interpersonal maxims deriving from his two politeness principles ("maximize polite beliefs" and "minimize impolite beliefs"):

- a. Tact maxim: minimize cost to other, and maximize benefit to other.
- b. Generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self, and maximize cost to self.
- c. Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise of other, and maximize praise of other.
- d. Modesty maxim: minimize praise of self, and maximize dispraise of self.
- e. Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other, and maximize agreement between self and other.

- f. Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other, and maximize sympathy between self and other.

Beyond the work on conversational maxims, the politeness principle in language has been a popular research topic from the perspective of interpersonal relationships since the seminal work of Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987). Their politeness theories inspired scholars from various fields to study the complex relationship of politeness and language. Adopting Goffman's "face" theory, Brown and Levinson suggested that any interpersonal interaction involves the participants in the negotiation of face. They proposed that there are two kinds of face that people have as their public image. The first is positive face, in which people desire to be liked, appreciated, and approved of in a social group. The second is negative face, in which people desire not to be imposed on or intruded on by their interlocutors. While Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies boost the addressee's positive face, their negative politeness strategies address the addressee's negative face concerns, often by acknowledging that the other's face is threatened. According to Holmes (1995), negative politeness strategies tend to maintain or increase distance, emphasizing power relations, while positive politeness strategies tend to reduce distance, expressing solidarity and equality between interlocutors. Thus, negative politeness tends to occur more in formal situations, while positive politeness occurs more in intimate and less formal situations.

Brown and Levinson (1978) claimed that sociological variables affect the choice of strategies and suggested three important variables: (a) the social distance of the speaker and the addressee, (b) the relative power of the speaker and the addressee, and (c) the absolute ranking of impositions in the particular culture (p. 74). Brown and Levinson stressed that these variables are based on the speaker's and the addressee's subjective evaluation and are context-dependent, so they are subject to change according to the context. And the social variables also involve speakers' sociocultural/sociolinguistic ability to choose appropriate strategies for maintaining each other's face in interaction. For maintaining smooth interpersonal relationships, face threatening acts (FTA) should be avoided by employing certain strategies. Brown and Levinson (1978) suggested four possible strategies:

- a. Do an FTA baldly, with no politeness, e.g., "Come home right now." (p. 97)

- b. Do an FTA with positive politeness, e.g., “Goodness, you cut your hair! (...) By the way, I came to borrow some flour.” (p. 103)
- c. Do an FTA with negative politeness, e.g., “Could you possibly pass the salt (please)?” (p. 135)
- d. Do an FTA indirectly, or off-record.

Brown and Levinson (1978) proposed 10 negative politeness strategies: “be conventionally indirect”; “question, hedge”; “be pessimistic”; “minimize the imposition”; “give deference”; “apologize”; “impersonalize speaker and hearer”; “state the FTA as a general rule”; “nominalize”; and “go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebteding hearer.” Brown and Levinson’s off-record strategy is used when the speaker wants to avoid responsibility for doing an FTA, and it requires the addressee’s interpretation of conversational implicatures in that s/he needs to interpret the intention of the speaker. They proposed the following 15 off-record strategies: “give hints”; “give association clues”; “presuppose”; “understate”; “overstate”; “be ironic”; “use metaphors”; “use rhetorical questions”; “be ambiguous”; “be vague”; “overgeneralize”; “displace the addressee”; and “be incomplete, use ellipsis.”

3.4.3. Politeness in Korean and Japanese

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), the various politeness strategies interact with universal pragmatic rules and language-specific sociolinguistic rules. However, Sohn (1988) argued that none of the politeness theories or sets of principles were truly universal. He pointed out that (a) none of them touches on honorifics; (b) most of them ignore third referent perspectives; (c) they fail to explain social-cultural differences; and (d) they fail to describe linguistic politeness practices in vertical societies.

Korean and Japanese are honorific languages, as explained in Chapter 2. Honorifics are the explicit expressions that structurally or lexically convey the sociocultural relationships among the speech participants in discourse. The honorific system of the Korean language is the most extensive, systematic, and complex among all known languages (Sohn, 1994). The choice of an appropriate lexical item, grammatical form, and speech level is determined by nonlinguistic factors, but involves interpersonal relationships between speech participants, including social status, age differences, and psychological closeness/distance. According to Martin (1964), in

Japanese the relationship with out-group members is one of the important factors that determine whether the speaker uses addressee honorifics. Understanding the complex honorific system of Korean and Japanese is not easy, but various linguistic devices should be understood in accordance not only with universal pragmatic rules, but also language specific sociolinguistic rules appropriate to each linguistic community.

CHAPTER 4. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE DEMONSTRATIVES

4.1. Korean Demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce*

Korean demonstratives constitute a three-way deictic distinction: *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘that’, and *ce* ‘that over there’. The choice of one form over the others is determined by the relative distance of the referent to the speaker and/or the addressee. *I* is used for an entity close to the speaker, *ku* for one close to the addressee, and *ce* for an entity far from both speaker and addressee. Korean demonstratives include information about complex grammatical relations. For example, the three morphemes *i*, *ku*, and *ce* by themselves are determiners (e.g., *i chayk* ‘this book’, *ku kabang* ‘that bag’, *ce saram* ‘that person over there’), and they can also be combined with other words or morphemes to form complex words including pronouns (e.g., *i-kes* ‘this’, *ku-kes* ‘that’, and *ce-kes* ‘that’), adverbs (e.g., *i-lehkey* ‘like this’, *ku-lehkey* ‘like that’, and *ce-lehkey* ‘like that’), adjectives and verbs (e.g., *i-lehata* ‘be/do like this’, *ku-lehata* ‘be/do like that’, and *ce-lehata* ‘be/do like that’), and other lexical categories. However, to form the various conjunctive adverbs, only *ku* is used, as in *ku-liko* ‘and’, *ku-lentey* ‘however’, *ku-lenikka* ‘therefore’, *ku-lemyense* ‘while’, and *ku-leyse* ‘so’ (Sohn, 1999).

Sentences (1), (2), (3), and (4) provide examples of (1) a determiner, (2) a pronoun, (3) an adverb, and (4) a predicate (verb).

- (1) *I chak un nay ke ya.*
this book TC my thing INT
‘This book is mine.’
- (2) *Kuke-y mwe y-eyo?*
that-NM what COP-POL (Q)
‘What is *that*?’
- (3) *Ilehkey ha-sey-yo.*
like this do-SH-POL
‘Do *like this*.’
- (4) *Emma ka ka-ci-mal-la ko kulay-ss-e.*
Mom NM go-NOM-not-IM QT say so-PST-INT
‘I heard Mom saying, “don’t go.”’

In the next sections, we will first look at how Korean demonstratives are used in Contemporary Korean (hereafter, CK) discourse, focusing on their anaphoric functions, and then explore how the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* have undergone grammaticalization from a diachronic perspective.

4.1.1. Semantic Features of the Demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce*

Based on Diessel's (1999) classification of pragmatic functions of demonstratives, I divide Korean demonstratives into three types: deictic, anaphoric (including discourse deictic), and recognitional.¹⁸ The deictic function of demonstratives focuses on entities in the world outside of the discourse; the anaphoric (discourse deictic) function has to do with coreference in the previous and/or surrounding (written or spoken) discourse; and the recognitional function focuses on shared knowledge and common ground between the interlocutors.

4.1.1.1. Deictic Function

Demonstrative pronouns and the determiners *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are commonly used as deictic markers in discourse. Example (5) provides straightforward examples, where the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* function as indicators of spatial deixis.

(5) Deictic function (Modified from Suh, 2002, p. 138 [a] and Chang, 1980, p. 160 [b])

- a. A: *Minho-ya, ku kapang com cip-e cwu-llay?* (pointing to the bag)
Minho.VOC that bag please pick-INF give-intend (Q)
'Can you get the bag for me, Minho?'
- B: *Enu ke, ike?*
which one this
'Which one, this?'
- b. A: *Cekes com po-sey-yo!*
that-thing please look-SH-POL
'Look at that!'
- B: *Kukey/Cekey mwe-n-dey?*
that one/that one over there what-RL-but (Q)

¹⁸ As discussed in Chapter 3, many scholars agree that there are at least two categories of demonstrative reference types, exophoric and endophoric (e.g., Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Diessel (1999) further subdivided the endophoric uses into anaphoric, discourse deictic, and recognitional uses.

‘What is that/that one over there?’

In (5a), A is asking B to pick up a bag, which is close to B. Thus the use of *ku* by A indicates an object nonproximal to A, but proximal to B. On the other hand, when B confirms which bag A is pointing at, B uses the proximal term *i-ke* (short form of *kes* ‘thing/one’) ‘this one’. In (5b), A is asking B to look at something, which is far away from both A and B. In B’s answer, either *ku-key* (*ku* + *ke(s)* + *i* ‘subject marker’) ‘that one’ or *cekey* ‘that one over there’ could be used, but with different connotations. *Kukey* would be used in a situation where B responds without looking at the referent of *ceke*, whereas *cekey* would be used when B is looking at it. That is, *ce* is used deictically while *ku* is used anaphorically, pointing not to the entity but to the referent previously mentioned by A.

The distal demonstrative *ce* is most frequently used as a deictic marker. However, *ce* can be used to point to an entity that does not exist in the speech situation, as in Example (6).

(6) (Chang, 1980, p. 169)

- (At B’s house, B’s daughter has passed by and gone to her room.)
- A: *Ney ttal cham chakhata.*
your daughter very good
‘Your daughter is so good!’
- B: *Mal-to ma.*
word even don’t
Kay/Cay-ka elmana kkatalowu-n-cwul a-ni?
that child-NM how much picky-REL-way know-Q (INT)

‘Don’t even talk (about her). Do you know how picky the child is?’

The interlocutors have just seen B’s daughter passing by and going to her room. Because B’s daughter is not present in the speech situation any more, she should be referred to anaphorically, for example, by *ku* as in *kay* (*kay* is a short form of *ku ai* ‘that child’). However, *ce* is also acceptable as in *cay* (*cay* is a short form of *ce ai* ‘that child over there’). Of course, it is also possible that because the speaker and the addressee saw B’s daughter a moment ago, they feel as if she is still present in the speech situation. However, B’s use of *ce* indicates the speaker’s negative evaluation of the referent, by showing psychological distance from the referent.

Example (7) also shows how the choice of a Korean demonstrative depends greatly on the speaker's psychological state. In the example, 'that/this guy' refers to the addressee.

(7) (Chang, 1980, p. 170)

Ce *nom-i* *mich-ess-na.*
 that guy-NM crazy-PST-FML
A, kulssay i nom-a, *way kuke-l* *kaci-ko* *ka-ni?*
 oh well this guy-VOC why that-AC take-and go-INT (Q)

'(I'm sure) that guy is crazy. Oh well, you (this guy), why are you taking it?'

In discussing this example, Chang (1980) did not mention the relative distance between the speaker and the addressee. However, the same addressee is referred to by both the proximal *i* and the distal *ce*. To make these noun phrases, the demonstrative *i* and *ce* are followed by the bound noun, *nom* 'guy', which is a derogatory form to refer to a man. We can suppose that the speaker is a little distant physically from the addressee in this example because the speaker first refers to the addressee as 'that guy' using the distal *ce*. This raises the question of why the speaker then uses the proximal *i* in *i nom-a* 'this guy-VOC' (i.e., 'you'). One interpretation is that by using *i*, the speaker is indicating psychological closeness and a strong emotional connection to the addressee.

In summary, Korean demonstratives are deictically used to refer to a referent in terms of its relative distance from the speaker and the addressee. The relative distance between the speaker and the addressee can also be used to indicate the speaker's psychological distance from the referent and/or the addressee. Thus, *i* is used to refer to an entity deictically close to and psychologically known or close to the speaker, *ku* to an entity deictically close and psychologically known or close to the addressee, and *ce* to an entity deictically distant from both the speaker and the addressee and psychologically unknown to or distant from them.

4.1.1.2. Anaphoric Function

Korean demonstratives are also frequently used as anaphors to refer to a referent in a prior text or discourse, or as cataphors, referring to a referent in the following text or discourse. Examples are given in (8).

(8) Anaphoric/discourse deictic function

Anaphoric function (modified from Chang, 1984, p. 131)

- a. *KimChelswu-lul* *kunal cheum* *manna-ss-eyo.*
 Kim Chel-swu-AC that day first time see.PST.POL
- I/Ku* *salam-un* *nay-ka* *nwukwu-n ci*
 this/that person-TC I-NM who-RL whether
- cheum-pwuthe* *al-ko-iss-ess-eyo.*
 first time-from know-and-being-PST-POL

‘I met Kim Chel-swu on that day for the first time. **This/that** person (already) knew who I was from the beginning.’

Discourse deictic function (modified from Chang, 1980, p. 177 [b], p. 175 [c])

- b. *Ike-n* *hwaksilha-n* *cengpo-n-tey* *Myengho-ka* *nayil* *o-n-tay.*
 this-TC reliable-RL information-RL-but Myengho-NM tomorrow come-IN-QT
 ‘**This** is reliable information, and Myengho is coming tomorrow.’
- c. A: *Yongi-ka* *ipen* *sihem-ey* *hapkyekhay-ss-tay.*
 Yongi-NM this test-on pass-PST-QT
 ‘I heard that Yongi passed the test this time.’
- B: *Ku* *sosik* *na-to* *tul-ess-e.*
 that news me too hear-PST-INT
 ‘I heard **that** news.’

In (8a), *i/ku salam* ‘this/that person’ has its antecedent in the previous unit of speech, which is the name *Kim Chel-swu*. In this situation, either *i* or *ku* can be used, but with different connotations: *I salam* is used as if the person being spoken of were present in the discourse situation, while *ku* is used as a genuine anaphor. In its anaphoric function, *ku* is used without restriction whereas *i* and *ce* are normally not used as anaphora. However, as in (8a), *i* may be used to add vividness (Kuno, 1973).

Like anaphoric demonstratives, discourse deictic demonstratives refer to elements of the surrounding discourse. In (8b), *i-ke* ‘this’ is an instance of the cataphoric function; the referent appears in a later unit of speech, rather than a prior unit as with an anaphor, and it refers to “propositions” expressed by a larger unit such as a clause, a sentence, or a paragraph (Diessel,

1999, p. 101). The cataphoric use is mostly restricted to the demonstrative *i* in Korean. According to Chang (1980), this function is generally used when the speaker refers to a referent or utterance only known to her/him. Hence, the use of the demonstrative *i* indexes the speaker's territory of information. The *ku* in *ku sosik* 'that news' in (8c) refers to the news that B heard about and indexes the proposition that A uttered. Thus, as Diessel (1999) emphasized, anaphoric, cataphoric, and discourse deictic demonstratives have a primary function of focusing the addressee's attention on aspects of meaning of the surrounding discourse.

4.1.1.3. Recognitional Function

According to Diessel (1999), the recognitional use of demonstratives is syntactically and functionally distinct from all other uses. Recognitional demonstratives are syntactically adnominal forms, and they do not have a referent in the prior discourse or the following anticipated discourse. Recognitional demonstratives are used to refer to a referent about which knowledge is shared by the speaker and the addressee.¹⁹ The examples in (9) are instances of recognitional use.

(9) Recognitional use (modified from Lee, 1994, p. 458 [a] and Chang, 1980, p. 176 [b])

- a. *Cinan cwu-ey* *hamkley swul masy-ess-te-n* *ku/*i/*ce* *chinkwu*
last week-on together alcohol drink-PST-RT-RL ku/*i/*ce friend

mali-ya, *cokum* *isangha-n* *chinkwu* *kath-te-n-tey?*
speaking of- INT a little strange-RL friend look like-RT-RL-but

'Speaking of the friend who (you and I) drank alcohol together with, he seemed to be a little strange.'

- b. A: *Kuke* *ic-e-peli-ci* *mal-ko* *kkok* *kac-e-wa.*
that thing forget-INF-completely-NOM stop-and surely bring-INF-IM (INT)

'Don't forget the thing and bring it surely.'

- B: *Mwe* *mali-ya?*
what speaking of-INT (Q)
'What are you talking about?'

¹⁹ Korean researchers (Chang, 1980; Chang, 1984; Lee, 1994) call this use "conceptual deixis," emphasizing the nonexistence of the referent in the surrounding discourse.

A: *Akka malha-n sacinki mali-ya.*
 little ago talk-RL camera say-INT.
 ‘I’m talking about the camera that I told you about a little while ago.’

Ku chinkwu ‘that friend’ in (9a) is a third person referent who is not in the speech situation, but the speaker refers to him in this way based on the speaker’s belief that the addressee can also recognize the friend because they had a shared experience in the past.²⁰ *Ku* in its deictic use refers to what is proximal to the addressee, which indicates that information marked by *ku* is also accessible to the addressee. Thus, it can indicate shared knowledge between interlocutors.

Because the recognitional referent marked by the demonstrative *ku* is not previously mentioned, the speaker may provide additional information for identification in a later unit. In (9b), the speaker’s additional explanation is given at the addressee’s request. However, it may also be given without such a request.

4.1.1.4. Discourse Function

As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), DMs have the pragmatic function of adding (inter)subjective strength to an utterance. They are characterized by their syntactic freedom and the fact that they do not contribute new informational content to an utterance. They have important pragmatic functions, such as filling pauses, helping the speaker maintain the right to speak while organizing an upcoming utterance, avoiding a direct statement, and so on.

The Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* as DMs can be characterized syntactically and semantically. They are nongrammatical elements that can occur in any position of a sentence, and while semantically they have lost their lexical meaning, their referential meaning may influence the primary discourse (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). Korean demonstratives have been reported to show multiple functions as DMs (Suh, 2002; Suh & Hong, 1999; Yoon, 2003). However, this section discusses only two general functions: as place holders and as hesitation markers. These are intersubjective functions in that they not only indicate the speaker’s stance, but also express the speaker’s concern for the addressee’s position. The examples in (10) and (11) show these functions.

²⁰ In this situation, *ku* has the semantic property of [-visible, +known] (Campbell, 1991).

(10) Place holder (modified from Chang, 1980, p. 180 [a] and Suh, 2002, p. 148 [b])

- a. **Ku**, *nolay suthail-i ku, kaswu mata talu-ci anh-supni-kka?*
that singing style-NOM **that** singer every different-NOM is not-DEF-Q
 ‘Well, the singing style, well, it is different according to singers, isn’t it?’
- b. A: **Ku, ku, kuke** *isscian-ayo. pahanmay.*
 that that that thing you know-POL sales
 ‘That, that, you know that thing. The sales.’
- B: *Ah, phanmay ung.*
 ah sale yes
 ‘Oh, the sales, yes.’

The place holder function is used when the speaker is delaying the production of an utterance while organizing upcoming ideas or utterances, as in (10a), or searching for an appropriate word as in (10b). The demonstrative *ku* is frequently used when the speaker states his/her views or opinions (Chang, 1980). As in the recognitional function, this use of *ku* indicates the speaker’s desire to orient the addressee’s attention to the ongoing discourse by invoking common ground between the interlocutors. By employing *ku* for her/his discourse planning, the speaker maintains the discourse with the interaction and support of the addressee.

When the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are used as hesitation markers, as in (11), they indicate the speaker’s avoidance of direct confrontation with the addressee or toward the discourse situation.²¹

(11) Hesitation marker (modified from Chang, 1980, p. 180 [a])

- a. A: *Cey-ka saipibi mwunhak.in-i-lan maliey-yo?*
 I-NOM pseudo writer-be-RL say-POL
 ‘Are you telling me that I am pseudo-writer?’
- B: *Ku, kukey ani-la, ce...*
 that that fact is not-but that
 ‘Well, it’s not that, but...’
- b. *Ce malssum com mwut-keyss-supnita.*
 that words (hon.) a little ask-may-DEF
 ‘May I ask you a question?’

²¹ Psycholinguistic studies (e.g., Rochester, 1972) claim that the use of hesitant speech can be affected by highly sensitive cognitive and emotional factors and situational anxiety.

Ce, which marks distance from both the speaker and the addressee, is often used in very hesitant situations. In (11a), A expresses feeling insulted by B's words. With the repetitive use of *ku*, B tries to rephrase what s/he said in the previous talk. Then, using *ce*, B begins a statement of opinion in an indirect way; that is, the demonstrative *ce* has the function of softening the coming statement, perhaps giving the impression of B taking a hesitant and humble attitude to A. *Ce* in (11b), which corresponds to *excuse me* in English, is used when the speaker asks someone a question. To ask a favor is a kind of FTA (face threatening act), so in order to avoid doing so abruptly, a speaker usually uses *ce* as a hesitation marker. Thus, *ce* is the conventionalized demonstrative for mitigating an FTA, functioning to indicate the speaker's modest attitude as a politeness strategy.

4.1.2. Grammaticalization of the Demonstrative Pronouns *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye*

In CK, *i*, *ku*, and *ce* by themselves are used as demonstrative determiners. They were, however, also used as demonstrative pronouns in Middle Korean (MK; Ko, 1987/2007; Sohn, 1999, 2012).²² The demonstrative pronouns *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye*²³ functioned as both deictics and anaphors in MK, but in CK they have lost their deictic function and only *i* and *ku* retain the anaphoric function (Kim, 1981; Kim, 2006; Park, 2006).²⁴ In CK, *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are demonstrative determiners that primarily serve a deictic function. As determiners, they frequently appear with certain nouns (Narrog & Rhee, 2013), and over time some combinations have developed into lexical items, such as, for persons (*i-i*, *ku-i*, *ce-i*, *i-salam*, *ku-salam*, *ce-salam*), for places (*y-eki*, *k-eki*, *c-eki*), and for things (*i-ke*, *ku-ke*, *ce-ke*). The lexical items have both deictic and anaphoric functions in CK. According to Kim (1981), in the combination of demonstrative + *kes*, the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are used deictically, and *kes* functions as the anaphor that substitutes for a prior word or sentence.

²² Middle Korean (중세국어, 中世國語) corresponds to the language spoken from the 10th to 16th centuries, or from the Kolye era to the middle of the Cosen era.

²³ *Tye* is an old form of *ce*.

²⁴ However, in some CK expressions their original usage continues, as in the phrases *i hwu* 'after this', *ku ilay* 'since that (time)', and *ce kath-i* 'like that' (Sohn, 1999).

4.1.2.1. Grammaticalization of the Third Person Pronouns *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye*

As already described, *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye* were demonstrative pronouns in MK. However, they were also used as third person pronouns by themselves. Crosslinguistically, third person pronouns are often closely related in form to demonstrative pronouns (Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Levinson, 1983; Lyon, 1975, among others). Therefore, it can be assumed that the Korean third person pronouns *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are derived from the demonstrative pronouns. The diachronic studies of Korean demonstratives done by Kim (1995) and Park (2006) attest to the MK usage of *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye* as both third person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Among the demonstratives, *ce/tye* was frequently used as the third person pronoun whereas *ku* was frequently employed as the demonstrative pronoun in MK (Kim, 1981; Kim, 2006; Ko, 1987/2007; Park, 2006; Sohn, 2012).²⁵ This raises the question of why *ku* has taken over the role of third person pronoun in CK.

While there is some controversy around this question, most scholars agree on two main reasons for the replacement of *ce/tye* by *ku*: (a) the phonological change of *ce/tye* to *ce*, and (b) the rising use of *ku* as both demonstrative pronoun and third person pronoun (Kim, 1981; Kim, 1995; Kim, 2006; Lee, 1979; Yu, 2005). It is generally assumed that in the early 20th century, *tye* underwent a phonological change, *tye* > *cye* > *ce*,²⁶ which resulted in phonological conflict with another *ce*, which was already used as a reflexive pronoun and first person pronoun. Kim (1995) asserted that, to avoid the conflict, *ce* (*tye* > *ce*) was replaced by *ku*, which was an obvious choice because it was already being used as the third person pronoun by the early 20th century. He suggested that his hypothesis is also supported by *Chosune Sacen* ‘Dictionary of Korean Language’ (1920), which does not include *tye*.

However, *ku* is primarily seen as the replacement for the third person pronoun because *ce* lost its function as a third person pronoun as a phonological change took place. The loss of this function resulted in the pragmatic strengthening of the demonstrative pronoun *ku* as a personal pronoun. The referential meaning of *ku* as a demonstrative pronoun, which is not deictic but anaphoric, made it a good candidate for a third person form. The demonstrative determiners predominantly took over the role of demonstrative pronouns in the form of a demonstrative

²⁵ According to Park (2006), when *ku* and *ce/tye* were used as determiners, they were used to refer to both persons and objects at the same rate.

²⁶ The historical form *tye* disappeared through palatalization, which is a process widely attested in Korean. The older form became completely replaced by *ce* by around 1910 (Kim, 1981, p. 7).

determiner combined with a noun, as in *ku salam* ‘that person’ and *ce kes* ‘that thing over there’. Among the demonstrative determiners, *ce* is only deictically used.

Since *ku* replaced *ce/tye*, it has become a gender-neutral third person pronoun, referring to any entity. Although a feminine third person pronoun *ku-nye* (*ku* + *nye* ‘woman’) is slowly gaining ground, due to the influence of translations from European languages, the first Korean equivalent translation of *she* was *ku yeca* ‘that woman’, which was used until 1965. In CK, since the end of the 19th century, when Korean was standardized as a written language, the use of *kunye* is mostly restricted to literary work. For instance, most news articles use *ku* as the third person pronoun regardless of the referent’s gender.

As for the humble first person pronoun *ce*, it is generally assumed that it originates from the distal demonstrative *ce*. According to Narrog and Rhee (2013), this development seems to have been motivated by the speaker’s desire to show humbleness by distancing her/himself from the addressee. Thus, the humble first person pronoun is regarded as the result of metaphorical extension to the situation of an inferior who respectfully stays away from his/her superior.

4.1.2.2. Grammaticalization of the Demonstrative Determiners *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye*

As described in the previous section, the CK demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye* were used as demonstrative pronouns in MK, as well as being used as determiners (Park, 2001, 2006; Sohn, 2012).²⁷ According to Park (2006), demonstrative pronouns in MK had three major meanings/functions: deixis, definiteness, and substitution. Deixis is associated with deictic meaning. Definiteness is associated with limiting the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun’s referent; and substitution involves the replacement of a referent by the demonstrative pronoun. However, as demonstrative pronouns were often used with other nouns in order to clarify the meaning of the referent, they gradually yielded the function of substitution to the nouns that follow them (Chang, 1989; Kim, 1984; Min, 2008; Park, 2006). For example, the bound nouns for person (e.g., *-pun*, *-i*, *-saram*, *-ca*, or *-nom*), for time (e.g., *-cen* ‘before’, *-hu* ‘after’, *-ccum*, *-kyeng*, or *-mwuryep* ‘around, about’), and for place (e.g., *-kos*, *-tey*, *-ccok*, or *-kwuntey*) are assumed to have this function.

²⁷ According to Sohn (2012), CK’s pure determiners were still generally nouns, pronouns, relativized verbs, or adjectives in MK.

According to Park (2001, 2006), *ku* and *ce/tye* in MK were more frequently used as determiners than as demonstrative pronouns. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that Korean demonstrative determiners derived from demonstrative pronouns in accordance with the general assumption of the origin of the pronouns (Diessel, 1999; Dixon, 2003; Himmelmann, 1996; Lyon 1975). There are two main reasons for this. First, in MK, *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye* maintained the properties of pronouns; there are many examples showing that the genitive marker *uy* or epenthetic *s* was inserted between these elements and the noun (i.e., demonstrative + *uy/s* + N) (An & Lee, 1993; He, 1995, cited in Park, 2006). Second, it is possible that demonstrative pronouns in MK could modify another noun without the genitive marker during an intermediate stage before the next new stage (i.e., “the ambiguity stage”; Heine, 1993), just as in CK (i.e., [determiner + noun]; He, 1995, cited in Park, 2006).

Based on historical studies of the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce/tye*, which developed from demonstrative pronouns, we can assume that they have undergone the grammaticalization stages shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Grammaticalization Process of Korean Demonstrative Determiners

Stage	Syntactic properties	Semantic properties	Grammaticalization principles
I	[[DP](<i>uy/s</i>)+N]	+deictic +definiteness +substitutive	phonological attrition reanalysis generalization meaning shift divergence
II	a: [[DP+N]]	+deictic +definiteness ±substitutive	de-categorization specialization renewal
	b: [[Det]+[N]]	+deictic +definiteness -substitutive	
III	[[Det]+[N]]	+deictic +definiteness -substitutive	

Note. DP = demonstrative pronoun; N = noun; Det = demonstrative determiner

In Stage I, the demonstrative pronouns, which had the three main functions of deixis, definiteness, and substitution, were often used with either the genitive marker *uy* or the epenthetic *s*, which were inserted to modify the following nouns to form noun phrases. Through frequent use of this structure and syntagmatic contiguity (Hopper & Traugott, 2003), the genitive marker *uy* or the epenthetic *s* after demonstrative pronouns was gradually dropped, and syntactic reanalysis occurred. That is, the original structure of $[[DP] (uy/s)+N]$ was generalized to $[[DP+N]]$. As this new structure came to be used in more and more contexts, gaining more distribution, it lost its primary function. In this stage, demonstrative pronouns were phonologically stressed, but they became unstressed in later stages.

In Stage II, there may have existed two syntactic structures, the older $[[DP+N]]$ and the newer $[[Det]+[N]]$. In this stage, the two structures share the function of substituting for the following nouns or bound nouns, and retain only their basic deictic and definiteness functions in newer form. According to Heine (1993), when a lexical form A undergoes grammaticalization to B, there must be an ambiguous intermediate stage in which it is not possible to distinguish between A and B.²⁸ From the synchronic perspective, as discussed in Chapter 3 (See section 3.1.1.1.), this is called “layering” in that the old forms and meanings may interact with the newer forms and meanings.

In accordance with the principle of economy whereby speakers seek simplicity and optimality, the new form $[[Det]+[N]]$ gained popularity, and its structure and meaning (i.e., deixis and definiteness) were generalized to a new form in Stage III. That is, demonstrative pronouns became decategorized to demonstrative determiners. The grammaticalized demonstrative determiners cannot take case particles or post positions, and cannot stand alone without a noun to form a noun phrase. They function as pure determiners that carry a general grammatical meaning (i.e., specialization). However, the primary meanings of the demonstrative pronouns were not entirely lost in the course of grammaticalization.

4.1.2.3. Grammaticalization of Korean Conjunctive Adverbs

According to Park (2001), *i*-type and *ku*-type conjunctive adverbs were both frequently used in Middle Korean (e.g., *ilelssAi*, *ilemyen*, *ilena* vs. *kulelssAi*, *kulemyen*, *kulena*). However, the anaphoric demonstrative *ku*, used for textual functions involving clause reference in order to

²⁸ Heine suggested that the ambiguity in Stage II might be “an either/or” or “a both/and” situation (1993, p. 52).

achieve overt linking of clauses, plays a very important role in forming Korean conjunctive adverbs, as in *ku-liko* ‘and’, *ku-layse* ‘so, accordingly’, *ku-lena* ‘but, however’, *ku-layto* ‘although’, *kulenikka* ‘so, therefore’, and *kulemulo* ‘therefore’ (Sohn, 1999, 2009). The existence of various conjunctive suffixes and the agglutinating nature of Korean, among other typological characteristics (Sohn, 2009), seem to be very important in providing the environment for clause-linking.

According to Ahn (2000), most CK conjunctive adverbs have the structure [*kule-* + clausal conjunctive suffix] and are derived from the clausal conjunctive suffixes. He claimed that the stem form of the adverb is *kuleha-* ‘to do so’, rather than *kule-*, because there were many examples of *kuleha-* as a stem in MK, and there are *ha*-series conjunctive adverbs in CK. Therefore, Ahn argued that the *kule*-series adverbs are derived from the structure [*kuleha-* + clausal conjunctive suffix] with a phonological reduction resulting in the loss of *ha*, while the *ha*-series adverbs such as *hana* ‘but’, *hanikka* ‘so, accordingly’, and *hantey* ‘but’ are derived from the omission of *kule-*.

Ahn’s (2000) study on the formation of the Korean conjunctive adverbs raises doubts regarding the origin of *le* in the *kuleha-* stem. And there are also conjunctive adverbs with the structure [*kuliha-* + clausal conjunctive suffix] as in *kuliko* ‘and’, although only a few. According to Shin (1993), *li* in *kuliha-* ‘to be so’ is originally associated with a suffix that represents a direction while *le* is associated with a suffix indicating intention. Shin stated that *li* has fewer syntactic constraints than *le*. For example, it combines with *ku* to make an independent word, as in *ku-li ka-sey-yo* ‘go that way’, while *le* can combine with other elements but cannot stand alone, as in *kule-nikka* ‘therefore’ and *nol-le ka-ca* ‘let’s go to play’. According to Kim (1982), when a head noun in an antecedent is related with a motion (verb), *kule-* is used, but when it is related with a state (adjective), *kuli-* is used. Unlike Ahn, both Kim and Shin claimed that not only *kule-* but also *kuli-* should be taken into consideration in determining the stem of *ku*-conjunctive adverbs.

Ahn (2000) claimed that Korean conjunctive adverbs are a typical example of grammaticalization in that they are functional words that have developed from content words, which are clausal connectives. He suggested that *kule-* adverbs have undergone three formation stages: syntactic, morphologic-syntactic, and morphological. In the syntactic formation stage, two clauses are connected with a clausal conjunctive suffix with the syntactic structure [verb

stem + clausal conjunctive suffix]. This stage is indispensable in the formation of Korean conjunctive adverbs.²⁹ In the morphologic-syntactic formation stage, two clauses connected with a clausal conjunctive suffix become split into two sentences. The first sentence is replaced by *kuleha-* in the second sentence. At this stage, [*kuleha* + clausal conjunctive suffix] is not a conjunction yet, but still has a subordinate or coordinate function although its shape has changed.³⁰ In the final, morphological formation stage, *ha-* in *kuleha* is omitted, and the conjunctive adverbs are formed.

Sohn (2000) discussed four necessary conditions for grammaticalization crosslinguistically: semantic suitability, typological salience, syntagmatic contiguity, and frequency of use (p. 156). As the most important condition, semantic suitability refers to the grammaticalization of a limited set of lexical items. Syntagmatic contiguity means that two or more forms should be contiguous in order to be grammaticalized, and frequency of use means that they need to occur with high frequency. These conditions of grammaticalization are all met in the case of Korean conjunctive adverbs. Based on Ahn's (2000) explanation of the formation of Korean conjunctive adverbs, we can assume that, for example, *kuliko* 'and' has undergone the grammaticalization process illustrated with the example in Table 6.

²⁹ There are about 30 *kule-* conjunctives in CK, but there were only four in MK (Ahn, 2000). One of the most important factors in this increase is the continuous emergence of new clausal connective suffixes.

³⁰ Conjunctive suffixes still allow tense, honorific, and modal markers.

Table 6. Grammaticalization Process of Korean Conjunctive Adverbs

Stage I: Syntactic construction [clausal suffix]

- (ex) *Nanun achim.eyn wu.yu lul masi-ko, ohwue.yn khephi lul masyessta.*
 I morning in milk ACC drink and afternoon in coffee ACC drank
 ‘I drank milk in the morning and coffee in the afternoon.’



(syntactic reanalysis, renewal: *kuleha*-insertion)

Stage II: Morphological/syntactic construction [simple sentence + *kuliha* clausal suffix]

- (ex) *Nanun achim.ey-n wu.yu lul masyessta. Kuliha-ko ohwu.ey-n khephi lul masyessta.*
 I morning in-NM milk ACC drank do so-PST-and afternoon-in coffee ACC drank
 ‘I drank milk in the morning, and did coffee in the afternoon.’



(*ha*-reduction, fusion, syntactic reanalysis, decategorization, specialization)

Stage III: Morphological construction [simple sentence + conjunctive adverb]

- (ex) *Nanun achim.eyn wu.yu lul masyessta. Kuliko ohwu.eyn khephi lul masyessta.*
 I morning in milk ACC drank and afternoon in coffee ACC drank
 ‘I drank milk in the morning. And (I) drank coffee in the afternoon.’

The first stage, which has the syntactic structure of [verb stem + clausal conjunctive suffix], undergoes syntactic reanalysis into two simple sentences. The second sentence then uses *kuliha*- (renewal: *kuleha*- insertion) as a substitute for the first. However, this structure is still syntactically close to the first stage in that it has a coordinate function in the second sentence, although its shape has changed. In the second stage, [*kuliha* + clausal connective] undergoes *ha*-phonological reduction, fusion, and syntactic reanalysis, and eventually is lexicalized to an independent conjunctive adverb *kuliko* (decategorization). *Kulihako*- in the second stage allows tense (e.g., *ess/ass* ‘past tense’), honorific (e.g., *-si* ‘subject honorific’), and modal (e.g., *keyss* ‘conjecture’) markers, but the functional word *kuliko* ‘and’ is syntactically fixed and semantically specialized.

4.2. Japanese Demonstratives: *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*-series

Like Korean demonstratives, Japanese demonstratives express a three-way deictic distinction. The basic morphemes are the three elements *ko*- ‘this’, *so*- ‘that’, and *a*- ‘that over there’. The choice of one form over the other in deictic use is determined by the relative distance

of an entity from the speaker and/or the addressee. The proximate *ko-* ‘this’ is used when an entity is close to the speaker, the medial *so-* ‘that’ when an entity is close to the addressee, and the distal *a-* ‘that over there’ when an entity is far from both the speaker and the addressee.

The Japanese demonstratives *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* are bound morphemes, which makes them very productive in the formation of words, as seen in Table 7. Each group of words will henceforth be referred to as the *ko*-series, the *so*-series, and the *a*-series.

Table 7. Examples of Japanese Demonstratives (modified from Kuno, 1973)

<i>ko</i> -series	<i>so</i> -series	<i>a</i> -series
<i>kore</i> ‘this one’	<i>sore</i> ‘that one’	<i>are</i> ‘that one over there’
<i>koitsu</i> ‘this guy’	<i>soitsu</i> ‘that guy’	<i>aitsu</i> ‘that guy there’
<i>koko</i> ‘here’	<i>soko</i> ‘there’	<i>asoko</i> ‘over there’
<i>kochira</i> ‘this way’	<i>sochira</i> ‘that way’	<i>achira</i> ‘that way over there’
<i>korekara</i> ‘from now’	<i>sorekara</i> ‘since then’	<i>arekara</i> ‘since then’
<i>kono</i> ‘(of) this’	<i>sono</i> ‘(of) that’	<i>ano</i> ‘(of) that (over there)’
<i>koo</i> ‘in this way’	<i>soo</i> ‘in that way’	<i>aa</i> ‘in that way’
<i>konna</i> ‘like this’	<i>sonna</i> ‘like that’	<i>anna</i> ‘like that over there’

Japanese demonstratives are combined with other elements to form pronouns, determiners, or adverbs. Unlike Korean demonstratives, they are not combined with predicates (adjectives/verbs). When conjunctive adverbs are formed in Japanese, just like in Korean, the medial *so*-series is frequently used, but there exist various anaphorless conjunctive adverbs in Contemporary Japanese (hereafter CJ) discourse.³¹

Sentences (12), (13), and (14) provide examples of (12) a determiner, (13) a pronoun, and (14) an adverb.

- (12) *Kono hon wa watashi no desu.*
 this book TC I thing be (POL)
 ‘This book is mine.’

³¹ See Section 4.2.2.3.

(13) *Sore wa nan desu ka.*
 that TC what be (POL) Q
 ‘What is *that*?’

(14) *Koo shi-ta hoo ga ii desu-yo.*
 like this do-PST way NM good be (POL)-IP
 ‘It’s better to do it *in this way*.’

4.2.1. Semantic Features of the Demonstratives in the *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*-Series

4.2.1.1. Deictic Function

The Japanese demonstrative determiners *kono* ‘this N’, *sono* ‘that N’, and *ano* ‘that N over there’, and demonstrative pronouns *kore* ‘this’, *sore* ‘that’, and *are* ‘that over there’ are commonly used as deictic markers in discourse. Example (15) shows the deictic function of Japanese demonstratives.

(15) Deictic function

A: *Sore wa dare no pen desu ka.* (pointing to the pen)
 That TC who GN pen be (POL) Q
 ‘Whose pen is **that**?’

B: *Kore wa watashi no desu.*
 This TC I GN be (POL)
 ‘**This** is mine.’

This deictic function seems simple and straightforward, but there are examples such as (16), which pose a challenge.

(16) (modified from Kawase, 1986, p. 85)

A: *Nee, ano seetaa ii to omow-anai.*
 INT that sweater good QT think-not
 ‘Look, don’t you think **that** sweater looks good?’

B: *Dore yo.*
Which IP
 ‘Which one?’

A: *Sono hidari kara nibanme no.*

That left from second thing
'The (**that**) second one from the left.'

B: *Aa, are ne.*
Oh, that IP
'Oh, **that** one.'

This conversation took place in a store between two women standing fairly close to each other. A comments on a sweater she sees, assuming that B knows what she is pointing at, using *ano* 'that N over there'. However, B does not recognize it right away, so A describes the location of the sweater again, this time using *sono* rather than *ano*. The sweater is at a distance from both A and B, so *ano* is deictically the best fit in this situation. Moreover, B switches back to the *a*-series with *are* 'that over there' when she identifies the sweater. In Example (17), a passenger in a cab directs the driver.

(17) (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 292)

Soko no kado o migi ni magatte-kudasai.
There GN corner AC right to turn- please
'Turn the corner there, please.'

The passenger and the driver are close enough to have this conversation, and the place to which the passenger is pointing is far from them both. However, the passenger is using the medial demonstrative *so*-series, *soko* 'that place (near the addressee)', rather than *asoko* 'that place over there (far from both the speaker and the addressee)'.

As these examples demonstrate, it is problematic to explain Japanese deictic reference using the proximal/distal concept; that is, a demonstrative is not simply determined according to the absolute distance from the speaker. Iwasaki cited Sakata's (1971/1992, pp. 54–68) description of "face-to-face" and "side-by side" configuration in the use of Japanese demonstratives. In the latter, the speaker and the addressee are facing in the same direction, and the demonstrative *so*-series refers to a referent relatively close to both of them, whereas the *a*-series is for referents relatively far from them. However, it is still difficult to explain in terms of deixis why speaker A in (16) uses *sono* in her second utterance instead of her initial *ano*, although neither the interlocutors nor the sweater have moved.

4.2.1.2. Anaphoric Function

Like Korean demonstratives, Japanese demonstratives are frequently used as anaphors to refer to a referent in a prior text or discourse, or as cataphors, referring to a referent in the following text or discourse. Kuno (1973, pp. 282–290) made the generalization that *ko*-series forms are used only deictically, but the *so*-series and *a*-series can be used either deictically or anaphorically.

(18) Japanese anaphoric demonstratives (modified from Kuroda, 1979, p. 101)

Boku wa Oosaka de Yamada Taro to-iu sensei ni osowa-tta-n da-kedo,
I TC Osaka in Yamada Taro QT-call teacher from learn-PST-NOM be-but
kimi mo sono/ano sensei ni tsuku to ii yo.
You also that/that teacher from study QT good IP

‘I learned from a teacher named Taro Yamada in Osaka. You should study under **that** teacher, too.’

In (18), the demonstrative determiner *sono* is used anaphorically to refer to the person, *Yamada Taro to-iu sensei* ‘a teacher named Taro Yamada’, who is introduced in the previous clause. Further, Kuno (1973) asserted that if one of the interlocutors lacks knowledge of the referent, both interlocutors must use the *so*-series. In (18), the phrase *toiu* ‘(a person) named’, signals that the speaker believes that the addressee does not know Yamada. However, Kuroda (1979) claimed that even if the speaker knows that his addressee does not have any knowledge of Yamada, he has the option of using the *a*-series, as in *ano sensei* (that teacher), to refer to him. Kuroda argued that, in this situation, the speaker has a choice of presenting the referent either conceptually using the *so*-series, or as a person he has direct experience with by using the *a*-series (p. 101). Therefore, Kuroda claimed that the *so*-series is used for entities that the speaker wishes to discuss conceptually, and the *a*-series for entities the speaker has direct experience with. Kinsui and Takubo’s (1990, 1992) study about Japanese demonstratives is in line with Kuroda’s claim in that they consider the speaker’s direct experience to be a crucial factor in using Japanese demonstratives. According to them, *ko* and *a* are used for a referent in the domain of the speaker’s direct experience, with *ko* for a referent that is in the speaker’s control or influence, and *a* for a referent beyond the speaker’s control. On the other hand, they also claim

that *so* is used for a referent that does not belong to the domain of the speaker's direct experience.

The next example shows that when *kono* is used anaphorically, it has a different connotation than *sono*. The person introduced previously is referred to by the demonstrative *kono* 'this (person)' in (19), instead of *sono* 'that (person)'.

- (19) *Boku no tomodachi ni Yamada to iu hito ga iru n da ga,*
 I GN friend among Yamada QT call person NM exist NOM be but,

kono otoko wa nakanaka no rironka-de, ...
 This man TC caliber GN theoretician- be and

'I have a friend by the name of Yamada. **This** man is a theoretician of some caliber, and...'

Kuno (1973) argued that when the *ko*-series is used anaphorically, the forms indicate "something as if it were visible to both the speaker and the hearer at the time of the conversation, and thus it imparts vividness to the conversation" (p. 288). In other words, the anaphoric *ko*-series forms are used conceptually as if the referent were something the speaker and the addressee could see. According to Kuno, there are two restrictions on the anaphoric *ko*-series, however. First, the addressee cannot use the anaphoric *ko*-series to indicate the same referent that the speaker has already referred to with the *ko*-series. Furthermore, if it is established that both interlocutors know the referent, the *ko*-series cannot be used, and the *a*-series must be used instead.

4.2.1.3. Recognitional Function

Among the Japanese demonstratives, the demonstrative *a*-series is used for the recognitional function. The demonstrative *a*-series is used for referents that both the speaker and the addressee know personally or have shared experience with. Based on Kuno's (1973) claim, regardless of how many times a referent comes up in a conversation, it can never be referred to by the *a*-series if it cannot be established that both of the interlocutors knew the referent prior to the conversation.

(20) Recognitional function (modified from Iwasaki, 2013, p. 292)

A: *Yabu tte-yuu resutoran shi-tteru?*
Yabu QT-call restaurant know-being (Q)
'Do you know the restaurant called Yabu?'

B: *Un. Asoko/ano mise nakanaka ii ne.*
Yes. There/that restaurant very good IP
'Yes, **that** (restaurant) is very good.'

In (20), A is asking B if s/he knows a restaurant named Yabu. B is familiar with the restaurant, so s/he uses *asoko* 'that place' or *ano mise* 'that restaurant' with the agreement-seeking marker *ne* 'right, isn't it?' at the end of the sentence. The referent of the *a*-series is highly shared information, and applying Prince's (1992) terms, it would carry hearer-old and discourse new information.

4.2.1.4. Discourse Function

Like Korean demonstratives, Japanese demonstratives are frequently used as DMs in discourse. Koide (1983) claimed that DMs³² such as *ano* occur most frequently in three different contexts: (a) when the speaker holds the floor before beginning to talk about the main point; (b) when the speaker sums up content; and (c) when the speaker plans his/her discourse. Maynard (1989) also emphasized the function of these fillers by saying that DMs are used to express politeness and soften a statement in conversation. The sentences in (19) provide examples of the use of *ano* as a DM. *Ano* refers to the adnominal form, and it must be followed by a noun. However, in the examples given here, *ano* is syntactically free and does not seem to have deictic meaning. Rather, it seems to be used for the speaker's discourse planning, such as when holding the floor while searching for an appropriate expression. As in Korean, Japanese demonstratives have been reported to show multiple functions as DMs, but in this section, only two general functions will be discussed: place holders and hesitation markers.

(21) *Ano* as place holder and hesitation marker

a. A: *Un. Nani-ga ii-ka-to yuu-to, yasui-shi,*
Yes, what-NM good-Q-QT say-if, cheat-and,

³² Koide used the term "hesitation fillers" rather than "DMs."

hun'iki-mo, anoo, gayagaya-shita hun'iki.
 Atmosphere-also, well, noisy atmosphere

‘Yeah, what’s good is that it is cheap,
 and also the atmosphere, **that**, very noisy but cheerful atmosphere.’

- b. A: *Keesha-ni ankeeto-o shiteru-n-da-kedo,*
 employer to questionnaire-AC doing-NOM-COP-but,

maa, izen-yori-wa maa, anoo, nan-tte-yuu no?
 well, before-than-TC well, well, what-QT-say Q (INT)

Keeki-ga yoku natte-ki-teru
 Price-NM well become-come-being

‘The employers answered in the questionnaire, but, well, compared to
 before, well, **that**, what do you say? The economy is getting better.’

In (21a), the speaker uses *anoo* to hold the floor to search a specific word, *hun'iki* ‘atmosphere’. The speaker in (21b) uses *anoo* as a hesitation marker while searching for a word. The use of other hesitation markers such as *maa* ‘well’ and *nan tte-yuu no?* ‘what do you say?’ also hints that the speaker is very hesitant. According to Cook (1993), *ano* as a discourse marker often occurs not only when the speaker is searching for words or formulating an idea, but also when the speaker is drawing the addressee’s attention in order to elicit the addressee’s cooperation in the conversation. The grounds for Cook’s claim are that the use of *ano* aligns the speaker and the addressee on the same side with respect to the object in sight, so it can bring the addressee to the speaker’s side and hence make it easier to get the addressee’s cooperation. The use of *ano* often occurs during the face threatening act of disagreeing (Brown & Levinson, 1987) to mitigate the act by aligning the speaker with the addressee and evoking common ground between them.

Kono and *sono* as DMs are frequently used to establish a connection between deictic and anaphoric discourse demonstratives, as in Example (22).

(22) *Kono* and *sono* as discourse markers

Boku-ga sukina kuni-o atete-goran. Kono/sono kuni-wa minami America-ni ate,
 I-NM like country-AC guess-try. This/that country-TC south America-in exist

Koohee-ga totemo yumeena-n-da.
Coffee-NM very famous-NOM-COP.

‘Guess the country that I like. **This/that** country is located in South America and famous for coffee.’

In (22), the speaker asks the addressee to guess his/her favorite country and gives the addressee some clues. *Kono* and *sono* could both be used here as anaphoric markers to indicate the previously mentioned referent, which is his/her favorite country. However, the connotation of each would be different. *Sono* is a genuine anaphoric marker, indicating the referent from the objective perspective, whereas *kono* sounds as if the referent were visible or very close to the speaker. As such, *kono* as a DM can add vividness to the utterance and demonstrate the speaker’s close psychological state to the referent.

As Schiffrin (1987) explained, DMs have multiple functions at the discourse level, which makes it difficult to define the exact function of each DM. Nevertheless, each discourse marker can be considered to have a primary function, with a direct relationship between the form’s lexical meanings and its primary discourse functions. DMs indicate certain psychological/cognitive functions as well as serving some very significant interactional functions in discourse.

4.2.2. The Diachronic Study of Japanese Demonstratives

Ri’s (2002) study of the history of deictic systems in Japanese contributes to the diachronic study of the Japanese demonstrative system. Ri divided the history of the Japanese language into five periods and explored the historical changes of demonstratives’ meaning, form, and usage. In the earliest documented stage of Old Japanese, before the 8th century, he found only the forms of *ko*, *kore*, *koko*, *kochi*, and *kono* for the *ko*-series, and of *so*, *sore*, *soko*, and *sono* for the *so*-series. It is interesting to note that in later periods, *ka* and *a* were also documented as independent forms. However, during the 8th century, the demonstrative *ka*-series emerged in the forms of *ka*, *kare*, and *kano*. Ri proposed that the earliest records of Japanese language show the distinction between exophoric³³ (*ko*-series) and anaphoric uses (*so*-series).

³³ Ri uses the term “spatial-temporal deixis” for the exophoric use of demonstratives.

The *ka*-series was used for distal deixis, in contrast to the proximal *ko*-series, while the *a*-series is not attested until the 9th century. The anaphoric *so*-series was also used to mention a referent about which the speaker and the addressee had shared knowledge, which is a function of the distal *a*-series in CJ (p. 158).

Ri (2002) found that, in the *Tale of Genji* (源氏物語, *Genji monogatari*), a classic work of literature written in the early years of the 11th century, around the peak of the Heian period, *ko*, *kore*, *so*, *sore*, *kare*, *a*, and *are* were used to point out both people and things in speech situations. However, *kore*, *sore*, and *are* were also used to refer to abstract things. *Kore*, *sore*, and *kare*, but not *are*, were also used to refer to places, along with other place forms *koko*, *soko*, *kashiko*, and *ashiko*. The demonstrative determiner *kono* frequently occurred with first-person related nouns such as *kono waga ya* ‘this is my house’ and *kono waga me* ‘these are my eyes’. Ri claimed that the *so*-, *a*-, and *ka*-series³⁴ were used as “nonfirst person” forms until the *so*-series developed the addressee-proximal function around the 17th century.

Based on the findings of previous studies such as those of Hashimoto (1982) and Ri (2002), Ishiyama (2008) summarized the history of demonstratives in the schematic table reproduced here as Table 8.

³⁴ The use of the *ka*-series was very limited, but it was used relatively often to refer to the second person (Ri, 2002, p. 167).

Table 8. Diachronic Overview of the Japanese Demonstrative System (Ishiyama, 2008, p. 117)

Stage	Summary of demonstrative usage
Stage I: 700–800	exophoric (<i>ko-</i>) vs. anaphoric (<i>so-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ko-</i> as S-PROX • limited use of <i>ka-</i> (S-DIST)
Stage II: 800–1200	S-PROX (<i>ko-</i>) vs. S-DIST (<i>so-</i> , <i>ka-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>so-</i> biased toward ‘near addressee’ • exophoric use of <i>so-</i> • limited use of <i>a-</i> (S-DIST)
Stage III: 1200–1600	S-PROX (<i>ko-</i>) vs. S-DIST (<i>so-</i> , <i>ka-</i> , <i>a-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>so-</i> biased toward ‘near addressee’ • <i>a-</i> outnumbers <i>ka-</i> in the second half
Stage IV (1st half): 1600–1750	S-PROX (<i>ko-</i>) vs. S-DIST (<i>so-</i> , <i>a-</i> , <i>ka-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>so-</i> biased toward ‘near addressee’ • <i>ka-</i> declining further and becoming idiomatic (e.g., <i>karekore</i> ‘this and that’)
Stage IV (2nd half): 1750–1870	S-PROX (<i>ko-</i>) vs. AD-PROX (<i>so-</i>) vs. S/AD-DIST (<i>a-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • system observed in Modern Japanese established • limited use of <i>ka-</i>
Stage V: 1870–present	S-PROX (<i>ko-</i>) vs. AD-PROX (<i>so-</i>) vs. S/AD-DIST (<i>a-</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern Japanese system

Note. S-PROX = Speaker Proximal; S-DIST = Speaker Distal; AD-PROX = Addressee Proximal; S/AD-DIST = Speaker and Addressee Distal

As Table 8 shows, until the three-term system of the *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* series observed in Modern Japanese (Stage V) was established, the three series underwent various semantic changes. The distinction between the speaker proximal *ko-* series and the speaker distal *so-*, *a-*, and *ka-* series, which started in Stage II, continued until the first half of Stage IV. During these stages, the *so-* series gradually gained the meaning of addressee proximity. From Stage III, the *a-* series outnumbered the *ka-* series, which had been much more frequently used for the speaker distal function. The use of the *ka-* series declined further and disappeared from the system of Japanese demonstratives, although we can see its traces in some idiomatic expressions such as *karekore* ‘this and that’.

4.2.2.1. Grammaticalization of the Second Person Pronoun *anata*

Focusing on the diachronic development of Japanese personal pronouns, Ishiyama (2008) suggested that the apparent association of *ko-* with the speaker and *so-* with the addressee, and the dissociation of *a-* from both the speaker and the addressee have to do with the systematic relation between demonstratives and personal pronouns. That is, *ko-* is associated with the first person, *so-* with the second person, and *a-* with the third person (Sakuma, 1936, 1959, cited in Ishiyama, 2008), although Ri (2002) had a different view on this matter.

Ishiyama (2008) proposed that Japanese personal pronouns evolved along with the Japanese demonstrative system. Referring to the historical stages in Table 8, he claimed that the directional demonstratives *konata*, *sonata*, and *anata* can be found³⁵ in Stage II, and that these forms came to be used as person referents by the first part of Stage IV: *konata* for the first/second person, *sonata* for the second person, and *anata* for the third person. However, in the second half of Stage IV, all these forms are attested for second person.³⁶ Citing Ri's (2002) claim, Ishiyama asserted that *anata* conveys politeness whereas *konata* and *sonata* do not. *Anata* is respectful in that it frequently occurs with honorific elements, such as *mooshi-masu* (from *mousu* 'say' and the addressee honorific form *masu*). He also suggested that this change to the second person is in accordance with the crosslinguistic tendencies for second person pronouns, which tend to gain a polite function (Croft, 1990). Finally, *konata* and *sonata* disappeared, and only *anata* evolved to a second person pronoun. Starting during the second half of Stage IV, therefore, *anata* became intersubjective because it attends to the addressee's "image needs" (i.e., politeness), to use Traugott and Dasher's (2002) term.

4.2.2.2. Grammaticalization of the Third Person Pronouns *kare* and *kanojo*

According to Ishiyama (2008), *kare* was used in Old Japanese before the 8th century on a limited scale as a speaker-distal form. By the time the *Tale of Genji* was written (Stage II in Table 8), it functioned as a demonstrative to refer to any referent: a person, a male, a female, a thing, or even an abstract entity. However, the *ka*-series declined until it was outnumbered by the

³⁵ *Konata* was speaker-proximal, whereas *sonata* and *anata* were speaker-distal, although *sonata* was often used for directions/locations near the addressee, as "a precursor of [the] addressee-proximal function" (Ishiyama, 2008, p. 118).

³⁶ The first person *konata* came to be used for the second person toward the end of Stage III, which is earlier than the third person *anata*. *Anata* was used for the second person in the second half of Stage IV (Ishiyama, 2008, p. 122).

a-series in Stage III, and *kare* was then primarily used to refer to a person who had been previously mentioned (anaphoric use). In Stage IV, *kare* became completely nondeictic and was used mainly as an anaphor and in idiomatic expressions. Finally, it gained its current status as a third person masculine form in Stage V, dropping out of the demonstrative paradigm at the same time. Turning to the third person feminine form *kanojo*, literally, it is a combination of *kano* (a distal *ka*- demonstrative determiner) ‘that’ and *jo* ‘woman’ (a noun). *Kanojo* (彼女) can be written in Chinese characters and have two readings, *kanojo*, the Sino-Japanese reading, and *kano onna*, the reading based on the original Japanese meaning. Ishiyama claimed that the form *kano onna* is attested from Stage II, and the *kanojo* form appears in Stage V, when Western European literature was introduced to Japan. These third person pronouns are attributed to the literary movement known as *genbun-itchi* (unification of written and spoken language),³⁷ in which *kare* and *kanojo*³⁸ are mostly employed as third person pronouns in literary texts translated from other languages. There is no doubt that translation from other languages played an important role in the establishment of Japanese third person pronouns in Modern Japanese (Stage V), but there are questions regarding the replacement of *kano onna* with *kanojo*. *Kanojo* is not attested prior to Stage V, leaving open the question of why it suddenly came to be used as the feminine third person pronoun. As *kare* gained its status as a third person pronoun and lost its deictic meaning, *kano* is also assumed to have undergone a meaning shift (nondeictic force). According to Ri (2002), once *ano* outnumbered the *ka*-series, *kano* lost its deictic force as a demonstrative determiner, and came to be used to refer to any entity that the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge of (p. 267). The adoption of *kanojo* as a third person feminine form for translations from foreign languages seems to be a result of the language users’ need for a new lexical item. Therefore, rather than *kano onna*, the use of which had declined and the meaning of which was unclear, *kanojo*, another Japanese reading of *kano onna*, was a good candidate for a third person feminine form.

After *kare* and *kanojo* became established in text as third person pronouns, which do not carry deictic meanings, they began to be used in spoken language as well. In speech, they refer to a third person who is in a place distant from both the speaker and the addressee, that is, as if they

³⁷ This movement occurred 30 years earlier than the similar movement in Korea called *enmun ilchi*, which is when the Korean third person pronouns *ku* ‘he’ and *kunye* ‘she’ began to be used.

³⁸ *Nihon Gokugo Daijiten* ‘Dictionary of Japanese Language’ (2001) defines *kanojo* as a translation of the feminine third person pronoun from Western European languages.

carry deictic meaning. However, their use is different from the genuine deictic demonstrative *ano*, as in *ano hito* ‘that person over there’ and *ano onna* ‘that woman over there’, in that *kare* and *kanojo* in a speech situation are used only for a person that the speaker and the addressee recognize and/or have shared knowledge of. *Kanojo* has another pragmatic meaning: ‘girlfriend’. When *kare* is used to mean ‘boyfriend’, the honorific suffix *-shi* is attached to the form: *kareshi*.

4.2.2.3. Grammaticalization of Japanese Conjunctive Adverbs

Unlike Korean conjunctive adverbs, in which the anaphoric demonstrative *ku* plays a primary role, the formation of Japanese conjunctive adverbs seems to involve other patterns in addition to the anaphoric demonstrative *so*-series. According to Matsumoto (1988), there are four different patterns of conjunctive adverbs that developed from conjunctive particles in Japanese: (a) detached clausal conjunctive adverbs, (b) conjunctive adverbs with the sequence of a copula and a clausal conjunctive suffix, (c) anaphoric conjunctive adverbs, and (d) anaphorless conjunctive adverbs.

The detached clausal conjunctive adverbs developed from a clausal conjunctive suffix by being detached from the preceding clause, as in Example (23).

(23) Detached clausal conjunctive adverbs (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 340)

- a. *Taro-wa wakai-ga, yoku yaru.*
Taro-TC young-but well do
‘Taro is young, but he does a good job.’
- b. *Taro-wa wakai. Ga, yoku yaru.*
Taro-TC young But well do
‘Taro is young. But he does a good job.’

The conjunctive adverb *ga* in (23b) was in fact a clausal conjunctive suffix particle as in (23a), which is attached to the predicate of the first clause. Several conjunctive adverbs fall into this type, including *ga* ‘but’, *ke(re)do(mo)* ‘but’, *tokorode* ‘by the way’, *to* ‘just then’, and others.

There are also conjunctive adverbs that have the same form as a sequence of the copula *-da* and a clausal conjunctive suffix, as in Example (24).

(24) Conjunctive adverb with the sequence of a copula and a clausal conjunctive suffix (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 341)

- a. *Taro-wa mada kodomo-da-kara sore-wa muri-da.*
Taro-TC still child-COP-because that-TC unreasonable request-COP
‘Since Taro is still a child, he is not equal to that task.’
- b. *Taro-wa mada kodomo-da. Dakara sore-wa muri-da.*
Taro-TC still child-COP therefore that-TC unreasonable request-be
‘Taro is still a child. Therefore, he is not equal to that task.’

The form *-dakara* in (24a) is composed of the copula *-da* and the clausal conjunctive suffix *-kara* ‘because’. The copula *-da* is attached directly to the predicate nominal in the first clause, which is *kodomo* ‘child’. However, the form *dakara* as in (24b) is a free morpheme as a conjunctive adverb detached from the preceding clause. Other conjunctive adverbs such as *daga* ‘but’, *dakedo* ‘but’, *dakara* ‘therefore’, and *dattara* ‘if so’ are of the same type.

The next examples show the use of anaphoric conjunctive adverbs (25a) and anaphorless conjunctive adverbs (25b). The anaphorless connectives like *demo* ‘but’ as in (25b) have developed with the loss of an anaphoric term from anaphoric conjunctive adverbs like *soredemo* in (25a).

(25) Anaphoric conjunctive adverb and anaphorless conjunctive adverbs (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 341)

- a. *Taro-wa shippaishi-ta. Sore-de-mo kare-wa kujike-na-katta.*
Taro-TC fail-PAST that-be-even he-TC be discouraged-not-PST
‘Taro failed. Even though that was the case, he was not discouraged.’
- b. *Taro-wa shippaishi-ta. Demo kare-wa kujike-na-katta.*
Taro-TC fail-PAST But he-TC be-discouraged-not-PST
‘Taro failed. All the same, he was not discouraged.’

Demo is composed of the gerund form of the copula *-de* and the particle *mo* ‘even’. In (25a), *-demo* is attached to an anaphoric form *sore* ‘that’. However, Matsumoto claimed that the anaphorless *demo* in (25b) is a connective, but the anaphoric *soredemo* is not a connective but a subordinate adverbial clause as the English translation *even though that* indicates. He claimed that this is a similar formation pattern as in English adverbial phrases such as *instead of that* and

as a result of that, which developed from phrases such as *instead* and *as a result* with an anaphor.

This section concerns how Japanese demonstratives have undergone grammaticalization to form Japanese conjunctive adverbs; therefore, the anaphoric and anaphorless conjunctive adverbs are the two types most relevant to this focus. Matsumoto (1988) found that anaphoric conjunctive adverbs appeared before the corresponding anaphorless conjunctive adverbs, and anaphorless conjunctive adverbs appear in texts that reflect the colloquial speech of the period. Matsumoto's findings from research on historical texts suggest that the Japanese anaphoric adverbs may have undergone the same process as Korean conjunctive adverbials. That is, their development may have followed these steps: (a) a clausal conjunctive suffix is detached from the preceding clause, (b) the detached suffix is combined with the anaphoric demonstrative form, and (c) the demonstrative anaphoric form is dropped in spoken discourse. Although Matsumoto did not explain the process in which a clausal conjunctive suffix combines with the anaphoric demonstrative form, the existence of clausal conjunctive suffixes became an important condition for the grammaticalization of Japanese anaphoric conjunctive adverbs (i.e., semantic suitability, typological salience, syntagmatic contiguity, frequency; Sohn, 2000).

Another question arises as to why the anaphoric demonstrative form was dropped. In the anaphoric conjunctive adverbial form *soredemo* 'even though', the clausal conjunctive particle *-demo* marks the proposition expressed in *sore* and the rest of the clause. When *demo* occurs as a conjunctive adverb without the anaphoric form, it directly indicates the relationship between the preceding sentence and the following sentence. Matsumoto (1988) asserted that the connective *demo* relates larger units than *soredemo*, shifting from the domain of syntax to discourse, and the loss of the anaphor has resulted in the use of sequences of conjunctive suffixes as conjunctive adverbs. He suggested that the direction of the process that Japanese conjunctive adverbs have undergone is the opposite of the direction proposed by the unidirectionality principle, in that they show a change of scope in their function, and they evolved from bound morphemes (i.e., conjunctive suffixes) to independent words (i.e., conjunctive adverbs).

4.3 Anaphoric Functions of Demonstratives in Korean and Japanese

As this chapter's literature review demonstrates, Korean and Japanese demonstratives show interesting similarities and differences in their anaphoric uses. The deictic (exophoric) uses

of *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the *ko*-series, *so*-series, and *a*-series are essentially the same. Hence, their different anaphoric functions in Korean and Japanese are crucial to understanding the differences in their lexical/referential meanings in the two languages, because the lexical meaning of an item is closely related to its discourse functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Lakoff, 1974; Schiffrin, 1987).

First, the proximal *i* and *ko*-series are similar in being used to refer to a conceptual item as if it were a proximal item visible to both the speaker and the addressee. Thus, the anaphoric use of *i* and the *ko*-series often lends vividness to an utterance. Second, the medial demonstrative *ku* and *so*-series are typically used as anaphors, referring to an entity previously mentioned. However, the Korean demonstrative *ku* is also used to refer to something that the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge/experience of, a characteristic that can be seen in the distal demonstrative *a*-series in Japanese. This use of Korean *ku* (i.e., to mark shared knowledge) is a metaphoric extension of the deictic use of *ku* to refer to an item that is close to the addressee (and therefore known to both the speaker and the addressee). In Japanese, the *a*-series is used when both the speaker and the addressee know the referent very well and/or the speaker has direct experience of the referent. This difference between the languages is curious: The Japanese distal deictic *a*-series can indicate mutual knowledge of speaker and addressee, giving a sense of closeness to the speaker despite its deictic use of indexing distance from both the speaker and the addressee, whereas the Korean distal demonstrative *ce* is mostly restricted to its deictic use without any implication of commonality.

In the literature, it is generally assumed that distal demonstratives (e.g., *that/those* in English) have the function of indicating shared knowledge (e.g., Diessel, 1999; Himmelmann, 1996; Lakoff, 1974; Prince, 1992). However, most studies are based on languages with a binary demonstrative set (e.g., English). In the case of languages that have a three-way system like Korean and Japanese, not proximal but medial and distal demonstratives are generally used to create mutual reference between the interlocutors. In Japanese, the distal *a*-series is used in contrast to the *so*-series in its anaphoric use, whereas in Korean the medial demonstrative *ku* is used for both functions.

4.4. Grammaticalization of Discourse Markers *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*-Series

As we have seen in the previous sections, the basic use of Korean *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the Japanese *ko*-, *so*-, and *a*-series as deictic demonstratives is determined by the relative distance of an entity from the speaker and the addressee. When they are used in written and spoken discourse, they often establish a connection between deictic and anaphoric referents. When these demonstratives act as discourse markers, they lose much of their referential meaning and have syntactic freedom. As DMs, that have various discourse functions and can be used to indicate various cognitive and emotional variables. As Lakoff (1974) claimed, DMs' semantic meanings have a close relationship with emotional closeness and distance (i.e., "emotional deixis"). Thus, in their discourse functions, they decrease in semantic value, but increase in pragmatic value. This understanding of these Korean and Japanese DMs is in line with Traugott's (1982, 1989) unidirectional theory of meaning shift.

As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1), Traugott's (1982, 1989) research into historical semantic change suggests that meaning shift in the process of grammaticalization follows these steps: propositional > textual > expressive. Semantically, a grammaticalizing item may gain textual (cohesion-making) and expressive meanings. The "expressive" meaning can be replaced with "subjective" meaning. Traugott (1995) described this process as one in which "meanings become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (p. 31).

Among the Korean and Japanese demonstratives, the recognitional meanings of *ku* and the *a*-series in particular seem to have become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective belief or attitude toward the addressee or the proposition. Traugott (1995) used the term "subjectification" to refer to a semantic and pragmatic change of an individual lexical item over time, such that the item gradually comes to express greater involvement of the speaker. Such subjectification describes the changes in the functions of *ku* and the *a*-series, as, while remaining polysemous, they have undergone a grammaticalization process from deictics to discourse markers. Metonymy and metaphor may explain the motivation for the development of the discourse markers *ku* and *ano* (among other *a*-series words).

The deictic adnominal demonstratives *ku* and *ano* were metonymically extended to indicate a much wider range of space, thus enabling them to refer to a previously mentioned referent or a shared experience and cognitive domain between the speaker and the addressee. In

the cognitive discourse domain, they have developed various nondeictic subjective uses, motivated by conceptual metaphors. Thus, the recognitional *ku* and *ano* as discourse markers foreground the speaker's belief that the addressee can identify the entity in question. They are frequently used to elicit the addressee's attention, performing the functions of place holder, attention getter, hesitation marker, and so on.

The anaphoric function of the medial demonstrative *ku* and *so*-series involves textual (cohesion-making) processes. They are typically grammaticalized as anaphoric markers, referring to an entity previously mentioned or assumed to have been already discussed. These anaphoric markers, through use in discourse, gain further pragmatic strength and syntactic freedom. Their meaning becomes more interpersonal and (inter)subjective, so that they function to maintain interactive conversation in the pragmatic domain.

The proximal *i* and *ko*-series show a similarity in that they can be used to refer to a conceptual item such as an emotion (e.g., affection), a cognitive state (e.g., the speaker's well-known knowledge), and a proximal item as if the referent were visible to both the speaker and the addressee. Thus, the use of *i* and the *ko*-series as discourse markers lends psychological closeness and/or vividness to an utterance.

On the other hand, the Korean distal demonstrative *ce*, which primarily marks objects within the speech situation and is crucially based on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee in discourse, is grammaticalized as a hesitation marker. The use of *ce* as a hesitation marker is similar to the use of the Japanese distal alignment marker *ano* (Cook, 1993). Both can be used to evoke common ground between speaker and addressee, and therefore speakers frequently use them to mitigate potentially problematic actions, such as starting a conversation, where they help avoid an abrupt initiation, or performing an action that could be face threatening (e.g., disagreement, refusal). As a hesitation marker, *ce* may occur quite freely in discourse in accordance with the speaker's intent, but the use of *ce* for mitigation in face threatening situations is indispensable in order to achieve the social goal of smooth interaction.

In this chapter, we have investigated the grammaticalization processes of the Korean and Japanese demonstratives and looked at how they appear in written and spoken discourse in each language. Korean and Japanese demonstratives show interesting similarities and differences in their anaphoric uses. The anaphoric meaning of Korean and Japanese demonstratives are very important for this comparative study because they are closely related to their discourse functions.

As we have seen in the sections of the semantic features of Korean and Japanese demonstratives, many Korean and Japanese researchers have paid attention to their discourse function (e.g., Chang, 1980; Chang, 1984; Lee, 1994 for Korean; Kuno, 1973; Kuroda, 1979; Kinsui and Takubo 1990, 1992; Sataka, 1971/1992 for Japanese). However, most of the works have been conducted using researcher-created sentences or written discourse, and focus mainly on the referential function of the demonstratives; an extended concept coming from the relative distance of an entity. This speaker centered proximity/distance frameworks have tested by many researchers through authentic data and proved their shortcomings in describing language as used in communication. In the following chapter, I will explore how studies of demonstratives have developed from the speaker centered proximity/distance frameworks, to interactional-based framework, and introduce an important framework for this study, the theory of Focus, which encompasses every use of demonstratives in authentic data, focusing on the form, referential meaning, interactional functions, and motivating factors.

CHAPTER 5. DEMONSTRATIVES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CASUAL SPEECH: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1. Previous Research on Demonstratives

The first part of this chapter reviews two approaches to demonstratives: the traditional speaker-centered approach and interaction-based approaches. Traditional studies typically focused on how the relative proximity/distance of an entity as measured from the speaker plays an important role in the choice of the appropriate demonstrative form for a given context (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Lyons, 1977; Levinson, 1983). By investigating spoken discourse rather than researcher-created sentences or written discourse, however, other studies of demonstratives have proposed that other factors are more influential than proximity/distance. The latter strand of research developed to take more interactional and dynamic perspectives, bringing the addressee to the center of analysis (Enfield, 2003; Gundel et al., 1993; Hanks, 1990, 1992; Strauss, 2002). This dissertation research takes an interactional, dynamic approach, with particular attention to Strauss's (2002) theory of focus. Chapter 6 will present a qualitative analysis of the Korean and Japanese demonstrative forms found in my data. First, however, this chapter will present a quantitative analysis of the demonstratives, focusing on their forms, their types (i.e., proximal, medial, and distal), and their categories (i.e., noun, pronoun, etc.). This quantitative analysis will provide a general picture of demonstrative distribution and the surface structure of demonstratives in each language. Obtaining such a picture is a very important step for this comparative study, because effective qualitative analysis must be based on a solid understanding of the components of languages and how they fit together to express meaning (Strauss & Feiz, 2014).

5.1.1. Traditional Speaker-Centered Approach

The traditional analysis of demonstratives focuses on the notion of physical proximity/distance and spatiotemporal (exophoric) reference in the context of an utterance (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). Halliday and Hasan (1976) defined demonstrative reference as “verbal pointing” on a scale of proximity/distance. They classified *this* as a proximal demonstrative for entities close to the speaker and *that* as a distal demonstrative for entities distant from the speaker. Thus, they accounted for the demonstratives

this and *that* on the basis of a static model, where relative distance from the speaker is the crucial factor that governs the choice of one form over the other. However, this traditional framework is problematic. First, it is impossible to determine the distance between a speaker and a referent when the referent is not physically present, that is, when referring to a conceptual entity. In addition, relative distance to the referent is very subjective in that it relies on the speaker's subjective judgment of the physical proximity/distance. Furthermore, there are many situations that prove the shortcomings of this traditional framework for describing the use of demonstratives. As explored in the previous chapters, demonstratives do not only express spatiotemporal distance. For instance, they serve anaphoric functions, referring back (or forwards) to a referent in the prior (or future) discourse. Hence, to encompass the various uses of demonstratives in diverse situations in actual conversation, the proximity/distance concept requires modification.

5.1.2. Emotional Deixis and Involvement

While the static concept of proximity/distance is problematic as an explanation for the various uses of demonstratives, many scholars admit that the spatiotemporal meaning of demonstratives plays an important role in explaining their other uses. That is, they take the spatiotemporal meaning as a basic meaning that other functions extend (Diessel, 1999; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Lyons 1977). According to Lyons (1995), the use of demonstratives involves “the displacement or reinterpretation of the spatio-temporal dimensions of the primary deictic context” (p. 310), which he characterized as “secondary deixis.” Research on demonstratives from this perspective has revealed that each demonstrative utilizes a different process for expressing the speaker's emotional and cognitive proximity/distance (Fillmore, 1982; Lakoff, 1974; Lyons, 1977). Lakoff (1974) defined three major uses of the English demonstratives *this* and *that* as “indicators of spatio-temporal deixis,” “discourse deixis” (i.e., anaphora and cataphora), and “emotional deixis,” indicating the speaker's emotional involvement in the subject matter of the utterance. Lakoff tried to unify their uses as follows:

There is a clear linguistic link between emotional, and spatial “closeness” and “distance”: these are not mere accidental metaphors. And the rules that correctly predict the spatial uses of *this* and *that* should somehow also serve to account for their discourse and emotional uses. (p. 355)

For Lakoff, *this* implies psychological proximity between the speaker and the referent; *that* enables the speaker and addressee to relate to each other spatially and psychologically, creating emotional solidarity.

The emotional connection created between interlocutors by using specific demonstratives can also be perceived as “involvement” that maintains smooth and interactive discourse (Chafe, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 1989). According to Tannen (1989), involvement is “an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words” (p. 12). She claimed that involvement is produced and maintained through the use of various discourse strategies, ranging from the repetition of phonemes, words, and phrases to the frequent use of images, and attention to detail. These devices enhance the coherence of connected discourse and elicit the interlocutors’ involvement by highlighting coherence.

Cheshire (1996), in her study of English *that*, emphasized that English demonstratives in discourse serve as strategic devices related to involvement. She argued that “*this* tends to encode the speaker’s personal involvement in what he or she is saying, whereas *that* tends to encode the speaker’s desire to ensure interpersonal involvement between themselves and their addressee” (pp. 375–376). She also suggested that *that* as a discourse anaphor, which refers to something already mentioned in the preceding discourse, plays an important role in signaling “affective” meaning in that the speaker uses *that* to express her/his (inter)subjective attitude to the addressee and/or the referent. For example, when a speaker asks a listener, “How’s *that* throat?” there are several forms that could be used in place of *that*, such as *your* and *the*. Cheshire assumed that *your* indicates the speaker’s neutral attitude regarding the addressee’s illness, while the definite article *the* indicates the speaker’s previous knowledge of the illness. *That*, however, indicates not only that the speaker has previous knowledge of the addressee’s illness, but also that “by virtue of its function as a signal of interpersonal involvement, s/he empathizes with the addressee’s suffering” (p. 376). Another of Cheshire’s examples comes from a television weather forecast: “Tomorrow *that* rain will be here, spreading in from the north-west” (p. 376). In this example, *that* is used to refer to an entity that cannot be identifiable in the speech situation or surrounding discourse. Cheshire proposed that by using *that* instead of using *the*, which implies the audience would have no problem in identifying the referent, the forecaster foregrounds speaker-addressee involvement, presumably indicating his/her sympathy with the audience regarding the rain. Thus,

the use of *that* is particularly useful for achieving interpersonal goals, ensuring that “speakers and addressees are aware of their shared attitudinal perspective on what is being said, and [are] jointly participating in the linguistic creation of conversational involvement” (p. 381).

In terms of emotional deixis and involvement, *this* has to do with a proximal relation from the speaker’s perspective, either psychologically or conceptually, involving the speaker her/himself in what s/he is saying, whereas *that* involves emotional solidarity and an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee in the discourse.

5.1.3. The Givenness Hierarchy

In highly affective and interpersonal discourse, the speaker’s understanding of the addressee’s self-image is a very important part of the interaction. Taking a psychological perspective, Gundel et al. (1993) conducted an empirical study that led them to propose a “givenness hierarchy.” The hierarchy is part of a theory of how an addressee’s cognitive status regarding a referent is signaled by individual lexical items that contribute to understanding and production. The hierarchy is comprised of six cognitive statuses relevant to the form of referring expressions such as pronouns and determiners, including demonstratives, and each status on the hierarchy is “a necessary and sufficient condition for the appropriate use of a different form or forms” (p. 275). The hierarchy and corresponding forms are given in Figure 1.

in focus	>	activated	>	familiar	>	uniquely identifiable	>	referential	>	type identifiable
{ <i>it</i> }		{ <i>that, this, this N</i> }		{ <i>that N</i> }		{ <i>the N</i> }		{indefinite <i>this N</i> }		{ <i>a N</i> }

Figure 1. The givenness hierarchy (Gundel et al., 1993, p. 275)

Cognitive status refers to what a speaker can reasonably assume to be an addressee’s knowledge and attention state in the context in which a particular expression is used. For example, the definite article *the* signals that the addressee can identify the entity that the speaker refers to; the demonstrative determiner *that* signals that the entity is familiar to the addressee and so s/he can identify it. The hierarchy is ordered from most restrictive (in focus) to least restrictive (type identifiable), and indicates that choosing a form fulfills all conditions to the right of the status to which the particular form belongs, as illustrated in Example (1).

(1) (Gundel et al., 1993)

I couldn't sleep last night.

- a. **A/This** dog (next door) kept me awake. (type identifiable/referential)
- b. **The** dog next door kept me awake. (uniquely identifiable)
- c. **That** dog next door kept me awake. (familiar)
- d. **This** dog/**That/This** kept me awake. (activated)

As in (1a), by using the indefinite *this* N, or new *this*, the speaker signals to the addressee that the referent is not only “referential” in the context, implying that the speaker intends to refer to a particular object, but is also “type identifiable.” Thus, *a dog* or *this dog* in (1a) is appropriate if the addressee can be assumed to know the meaning of the word *dog*. The status of the definite *the* N is referred to as “uniquely identifiable.” The definite *the* N in (1b) is different from the indefinite in (1a) in that it requires that the addressee can not only identify the type of entity being referred to, but can also associate a representation with the particular entity that the speaker intends. The addressee does not have to have previous knowledge of the referent, but can identify it given enough descriptive content, as in *the dog next door*. In contrast, the determiner *that*, as in (1c), referred to as “familiar,” is appropriate only if the addressee already has previous knowledge about the neighbor's dog. The status of “activated” involves a set of familiar entities to which the addressee easily has access, based on the discourse context or the extralinguistic context. For example, the pronoun *that* in (1d) can be appropriate only if a dog has actually been barking during the speech event or if barking had been introduced in the previous context. As for the determiner and the pronoun *this* in (1d), they need additional conditions for appropriate use, in which the referent is “not only activated, but speaker-activated, by virtue of having been introduced by the speaker or otherwise included in the speaker's context space” (p. 279). That is, the determiner and the pronominal *this* are used when the speaker refers to an entity that has been activated by the same speaker. Thus, in Example (2), when speaker B refers to the entity activated by speaker A, *that dog* is more appropriate than *this dog*.

(2) A: Have you seen the neighbor's dog?

B: Yes, and ? *this* dog / *that* dog kept me awake last night.

Finally, the most highly activated entities are not only those of which the speaker and the addressee have previous knowledge, but are also those at the center of attention at the current point in the discourse. Gundel et al. emphasized that while linguistic form (e.g., subjects and direct objects of matrix sentences) plays an important role in determining what the speaker wants to bring into focus, other important factors are the topics of preceding utterances as well as any other relevant topics current in the discourse.

Gundel et al.'s (1993) givenness hierarchy is meaningful in that it brought the addressee's cognitive state (the mental state of memory and attention) to the center of analysis. Their study also discussed referring expressions, not only the demonstratives *this* and *that*, but also definite/indefinite articles *the/a* and the pronominal *it*. However, within the theory there are some unclear parts with respect to the use of forms. The study did not sufficiently explain how two different forms of the same status can be distinctively used; for example, the pronominal demonstratives *this* and *that* both encode the cognitive status "activated." In fact, Gundel et al. briefly stated that they are used in different ways, that is, the determiner and the pronoun *this* are used only in the speaker's context space, but they did not elaborate on possible effects when one form is chosen over the other. In addition, the theory of the givenness hierarchy allows a form of higher status to replace forms of lower status. For example, a referent in the "activated" status can be encoded not only by the pronouns *this* and *that*, and the determiner *this* N, but also by lower status forms such as *that* N, *the* N, indefinite *this* N, and *a* N. Discussing the motivation behind choices of forms, Gundel et al. claimed that the givenness hierarchy interacts with Grice's (1975) maxim of quality,³⁹ which means that a speaker will choose the form that is most context appropriate based on the givenness hierarchy. Nevertheless, their study lacks much explanation of dynamic perspectives in the use of demonstratives, for example, how the addressee's attention is more or less elicited by the speaker. Thus, further modification of their theory is necessary to encompass a more dynamic perspective on demonstratives.

5.1.4. Crosslinguistic Research on Demonstratives from the Dynamic Perspective

Several crosslinguistic studies focusing on ongoing interaction have proposed that the meanings of demonstratives are not concrete but discrete (Enfield, 2003; Fillmore, 1997; Hanks,

³⁹ The maxim states: "Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange)" and "do not make your contribution more informative than is required" (Gundel et al., 1993, p. 295).

1992; Laury, 1996). Using examples of exophoric forms from English and Yucatec Maya, Hanks (1992) emphasized that the referents of deictic expressions are constantly shifting as the relationship changes between the referent and the indexical ground, which grounds reference to the deictic center (i.e., the origo) in a speech event (i.e., the speaker or the addressee). According to Hanks, the indexical ground is closely related to basic processes of human interaction and participant frameworks. That is, as speech participants coordinate their respective orientations and establish common/noncommon ground, the indexical framework of reference changes. As one of his examples, Hanks used an utterance containing quoted speech in Maya, corresponding to the English translation: “He says to me, come **here**, so I went to **there**” (p. 55). There is no doubt that the word *here* in this utterance means not the place where the speaker is at the time of speaking, but rather the place where the original speaker of the quoted speech (i.e., “come here”) was standing. The word *there* means the place where the original speaker was standing, which is the same place previously indicated by the word *here*. An interesting part of the use of the words meaning *here* and *there* in Maya in this utterance is that both words are inclusive (i.e., their referent includes the first person).⁴⁰ Thus, the word *there* in the utterance means “there where we said” or perhaps “there where we both know” (p. 56). This example implies that different choices of demonstratives reflect different indexical frameworks. That is, the inclusive *here* is used in the quoted speech, whereas the inclusive *there* is used in the present speech situation, and both index shared ground between the interlocutors. In this way, indexical frameworks are useful to explain “systematic transformation,” the speaker’s choice of more than one demonstrative to indicate the same referent in a short speech (p. 53).

Analyzing two Lao demonstrative determiners *nii*⁴ and *nan*⁴ in exophoric use, Enfield (2003) emphasized that the traditional perspective of proximity/distance lacks important insights on demonstrative usage in spontaneous interaction. Enfield argued that to achieve a rich crosslinguistic account of how demonstratives function, analyses should be based on examples from spontaneous usage. The Lao demonstrative determiners *nii*⁴ and *nan*⁴ are semantically different from spatial demonstratives in other languages. Neither term is a semantically general demonstrative, and both lack specification of any spatial property; *nan*⁴ encodes location, but not distance. The two demonstrative determiners interact system-internally, “forming an informativeness scale, with one ‘weak’ or semantically general member, and one ‘strong’ or

⁴⁰ Maya has an inclusive-exclusive distinction in spatial deictics.

semantically specific member, the latter being more informative” (p. 115). According to Enfield, Lao speakers’ choices between the two available demonstratives are based on pragmatic factors emergent in the dynamic interactional situation, including “physical barriers, perimeters of engagement area created by interlocutors’ manual and attentional focus, and conceived ‘gravitational pull’ between interlocutors and objects, among other things” (p. 115). Interestingly, Enfield found that in the pragmatic domain, a common proximal spatial interpretation is associated with the semantically more general term *nii*⁴ while the semantically more specific term *nan*⁴ is associated with things far from speaker.

Both Hanks (1992) and Enfield (2003) investigated spatial demonstrative forms from a dynamic perspective and emphasized the need for in-depth description of actual usage of demonstratives for understanding meaningful pragmatic functions. It is generally assumed that all languages have demonstrative systems. However, the semantic features of demonstratives do not seem to be universal, differing among languages, as examples from Maya, Lao, Korean, and Japanese demonstratives. Thus, the existing crosslinguistic studies indicate that further comparative research on demonstratives should try to capture every use of demonstratives, including demonstrative forms available in each language as well as the semantic and pragmatic mechanisms of each language.

5.1.5. The Theory of Focus

Investigating conversational data, many scholars have suggested that the primary functions of demonstratives are related to the addressee’s attention to the referent (Enfield, 2003; Laury, 1996; Strauss, 2002). The concept of focus proposed by Strauss (2002) is in line with the givenness hierarchy (Gundel et al., 1993) in that the addressee’s attention toward a referent is one of the important factors in the speaker’s use of demonstratives. In order to investigate demonstrative reference from a dynamic perspective, Strauss divided demonstratives into three reference types, exophoric, endophoric (anaphoric and cataphoric), and nonphoric reference, and explored how they appear in spontaneous conversation. She proposed that the speaker’s choice of demonstrative has much to do with the concept of focus, which she defined as “the degree of attention the hearer should pay to the referent” (p. 135). Strauss also suggested two additional factors that can affect the choice of a demonstrative: “the relative sharedness or presumed sharedness of information” and “the relative importance of the referent itself to the speaker” (p.

135). She asserted that the two additional factors are just indicators to aid inference regarding why the speaker chooses to elicit more or less of the addressee's attention, but they are nevertheless important factors to understand the dynamic use of demonstratives. That is, the choice of one demonstrative form over the other indexes matters that hint of the speaker's (inter)subjective stance with regard not only to the addressee, but also to the referent being talked about. Strauss added *it* to the English two-demonstrative set of *this* and *that*, and identified *this* as the High Focus member, *that* as the Medium Focus member, and *it* as the Low Focus member. Figure 2 presents Strauss's schema for English demonstratives.

	<u>FORM</u>	<u>MEANING SIGNAL</u>	<u>Hearer</u>	<u>Referent</u>
<i>Degree of attention hearer is asked to pay to the referent</i>	this	HIGH FOCUS	new information (not shared)	important
	that	MEDIUM FOCUS	↓	↓
	it	LOW FOCUS	shared information	unimportant

Figure 2. Schema of gradient focus for demonstrative reference (Strauss, 2002, p. 135)

In her 45,000 word dataset, which included an undergraduate (teacher-centered) history lecture, radio talk show, television news interviews, and multiparty conversations between friends, Strauss found that *it* (53%) occurred most frequently, followed by *that* (31%) and *this* (16%). The results of this study confirm that the demonstrative *this* tends to represent new information that has not been shared between the interlocutors, so the referent requires more attention from the addressee, which is associated with High Focus. On the other hand, the demonstratives *that* and *it* tend to indicate shared information between the interlocutors, so *that* and *it* are associated with Medium and Low Focus, respectively, because they do not require much attention from the addressee.

Strauss (2002) also claimed that the anaphoric function rather than the exophoric function is most frequently used for all demonstrative forms. *That* and *it* as anaphoric demonstratives often show solidarity and coalignment with the interlocutor. The anaphoric *this* is often used for interactional purposes as a signal of the speaker's intention to continue talking and as a

disagreement marker, indicating the speaker's strong emotional stance such as "opposition, confrontation, separateness or independence" in regard to the interlocutor (p. 144).

In Strauss's (2002) dataset, she also found nonphoric instances of *this* and *that*, where the referent exists only in the speaker's mind, and appears nowhere in the text or talk. According to Strauss, when a speaker uses nonphoric *this* and *that*, the degree of the importance of the information plays a key role in determining the choice of form, which is "governed primarily by whether or not the speaker presumes the hearer to have any knowledge with respect to the referent in question" (p. 146). Analyzing the contexts of nonphoric *this* and *that*, Strauss found a higher frequency of nonphoric *this* than of nonphoric *that*, and observed that nonphoric *this* serves to "heighten the interlocutor's interest by adding vividness in telling funny, exciting, or otherwise affectively loaded narratives" while nonphoric *that* generally functions to create solidarity (p. 146). She also suggested that the choice of the nonphoric *this* may have to do with the level of intimacy between the interlocutors.

Strauss (2002) also investigated distributional differences between *this* and *that* as pronouns and modifiers, and suggested that grammar can also affect these forms' interactional functions. She reported that the High Focus marker is used as a modifier more frequently (56%) than as a pronominal (44%), which means that "the noun referent with which it occurs tends to be explicitly mentioned more often than it is deleted" (p. 150). On the other hand, *that* occurs overwhelmingly as a pronoun rather than a modifier, which suggests that *that* and *it* are "related from the point of view of simple syntax or semantics, but from a discourse-functional standpoint, the two forms also overlap substantially" (p. 150).

Strauss's work on the English demonstrative system of reference is very important for this study in that the concept of focus provides a dynamic interaction-based framework, capturing almost every use of demonstratives in spoken discourse, such as different reference types, morphosyntactic features, pragmatic features (e.g., cognitive status of the addressee, speaker's emotional stance, information status). Taking the concept of focus as a framework, this study assumes that the speaker's intention toward or orientation to a referent is not fixed, but (inter)subjective, situation-bound, and constantly changing during ongoing interaction.

5.2. Previous Research on Interactional Functions of Demonstratives in Korean and Japanese

5.2.1. Interactional Functions of Demonstratives in Korean

In early works on interactional functions of Korean demonstratives, many researchers realized that Korean demonstratives are not confined to deictic or anaphoric use but also function as emotional deictics. The proximal *i* indicates the speaker's psychological closeness and strong emotional state regarding the referent, whereas the distal *ce* indicates the speaker's psychological distance from the referent. Most of the attention paid to the medial *ku* is on its anaphoric and conceptual meaning rather than other functions (Chang, 1980; Chang, 1984; Kim, 1982; Lee, 1994).

Suh and Hong (1999) and Suh (2002) touched upon the issue of discourse involvement in the study of Korean demonstratives. Based on their literature reviews of English demonstratives, these researchers characterized the Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* in terms of involvement. They claimed that the proximal *i* 'this' marks the speaker's involvement in what s/he is saying, and the referent marked by *i* is not shared knowledge with the addressee, but rather new information that belongs to the speaker's knowledge or experience. From this perspective, the use of *i* makes it possible for the speaker to describe a referent that does not exist physically as if it were visible and near to the speaker. Suh and Hong suggested that the demonstrative *i* can express the speaker's subjective feelings such as surprise, antipathy, or suspicion, encoding the speaker's direct involvement with the referent. On the other hand, *ku*'s referent-marking is regarded as a conceptual function, indicating shared knowledge between the interlocutors. Both studies claimed that the use of *ku* 'that' implies the speaker's desire to evoke interpersonal involvement between herself/himself and the addressee, which in turn helps to establish solidarity between interlocutors in discourse. However, the discourse function of *ku* as a signal of interpersonal involvement is very compatible with the use of *ku* as a DM. Echoing other general functions of DMs, *ku* in discourse is also frequently employed to fill a time gap while searching for an appropriate word and organizing upcoming ideas, to hold the floor, to avoid an abrupt initiation, and so on. Suh asserted that the use of *ku* as a DM "appeals to the addressee's own ability to grasp the intended meaning" (p. 149). That is, *ku*, which refers to shared referents between the speaker and the addressee, invites and ensures solidarity and coalignment with the addressee. In this practice, *ku* contrasts with the demonstrative *ce*, which does not actively invite

the addressee's involvement in the utterance. According to Suh and Hong, the use of *ce* as a DM indicates the speaker's difficulty in gaining cognitive access to the referent, and most importantly, signals the addressee to refrain from identifying the target referent. From the perspective of involvement, *ce* indexes a lower degree of involvement (e.g., interpersonal distance). The functions of *ce* as a DM are regarded as based on the metaphorical extension of physical distance to psychological distance. Distance is an abstract concept, but it may also metaphorically express the speaker's concern about the addressee, indexing politeness (Cook, 1993). Suh (2005) emphasized that the Korean distal *ce* serves as a device in discourse politeness to express the speaker's polite attitude. That is, *ce* is a politeness marker that can mitigate a face-threatening act. Along the same lines, Hayashi and Yoon (2006) found that the pronoun *ceki* 'there' frequently serves a euphemistic function, being used to avoid saying something that could be sensitive or offensive to the addressee. This avoidance use is motivated less by cognitive constraints such as difficulty in recalling a lexical item than by social constraints when explicit mention of an item would be impolite, face-threatening, and socially inappropriate. In contrast to this politeness function of the distal *ce*, another frequent use of *ce* is to express the speaker's stance toward a person who is both present and being talked about. Redefining third person referents as "quasi-pronouns," which are demonstrative-based pronouns, for example, *cyay* (*ce* + *ay* 'child') 'that child', Oh (2010) claimed that Korean speakers use *ce*-based quasi-pronouns in order to refer to copresent persons when they assign the referent a different category membership than themselves, regardless of the physical distance between them. Oh explained that the frequent use of *ce*-based quasi-pronouns among close friends, acquaintances, and family members involves "a moment-to-moment interactional development for many identities being invoked in the course of the interaction" (p. 1238).

Yoon's (2003) study of Korean demonstratives suggests that systematic interactional uses of demonstratives are one type of interactional resource. Based on Kim and Suh's (2002) study, which suggests that the medial *ku* and the distal demonstrative *ce* as a "prospective indexical" function cataphorically to index a referent, Yoon expanded the scope of the framework by describing the relationship between the various interactional functions and morphosyntactic categories of *ku* and *ce*. For example, the adnominal form of the medial *ku* is used as a hesitation marker whereas the pronominal form of the distal *ceki* as well as the adnominal form of *ce* also serve as hesitation markers. The pronominal forms of *ku* such as *kuke* 'that', *kyay* 'that child',

keki ‘that place’, and even the predicate form *kule(ha)ta* ‘do so’ indicate a referent with the same type of lexical category in discourse. Her study suggests that the interactional use of Korean demonstratives in actual conversation is structured by different grammar rules from the formal linguistic patterns, and the two types of *ku* and *ce* demonstratives behave in morphosyntactically different ways depending on their interactional types.

5.2.2. Interactional Functions of Demonstratives in Japanese

As in the research on English and Korean, many early works on Japanese discourse proposed the functions of “emotional deixis” and “involvement” for Japanese demonstratives (Horiguchi, 1978; Kamio, 1986, 1990; Kitagawa, 1979; Kuroda, 1979). Kitagawa drew on Lakoff’s (1974) concept of “emotional deixis,” and argued that *a*-demonstratives are more effective than English *that* in establishing solidarity between the speaker and the addressee because *a*-demonstratives refer to an item from a psychological perspective equally far from the speaker and the addressee. Kamio (1990) elaborated on the notion of territory, which was first introduced by Sakuma (1951) and played a crucial role in the study of Japanese demonstratives. Kamio developed a theory of “territory of information,” which also claims that the psychological status of the interlocutors and the referent is crucial to determine the choice of demonstrative. For example, using *kono* instead of *sono* signals closeness between the interlocutors, while the *a*-series has a distinct property of making reference to the speaker’s memory, which is cognitively distant from the current context.

Cook’s (1993) sociolinguistic study on the Japanese demonstrative determiner *ano* ‘that’ as a DM is remarkable in that she touched upon various discourse functions in face to face Japanese discourse contexts. She proposed that the DM *ano* is an “affective marker” that functions to align the speaker and the addressee on the same side with respect to an object in sight. In this use, *ano* shows a contrast with the demonstrative determiners *sono* ‘that’ and *kono* ‘this’, with which the speaker places herself/himself and her/his addressee in opposition. According to Cook, *ano* as an initiator of conversation or a new turn functions to elicit the addressee’s cooperation in paying attention to the speaker’s talk. Because it aligns the speaker and the addressee, it can bring the addressee to the speaker’s side and so make it easier to involve the addressee’s cooperation. Cook supported her claims by illustrating that *ano* frequently occurs with the interactional particle *ne* as in *ano ne*. According to her, the particle *ne*

is generally perceived as an affective common ground marker, and thus the combination of *ano* and *ne* can maximize the speaker's interpersonal involvement with the addressee. Cook also emphasized that the use of *ano* is an effective device for adjusting the relationship between interlocutors in such situations as disagreement, refusal, and performing a face-threatening act. Citing Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, she claimed that emphasizing common ground by using *ano* can mitigate face-threatening acts. Mayes and Ono's (1991) study about a particular form to refer to a person, *ano hito* 'that person', illustrated that speakers use this form toward someone from whom they feel a social or emotional distance. Their study implied that the choice of demonstrative is determined not only by cognitive factors, but also by social factors, which therefore must be analyzed in order to understand referential choice.

Niimura and Hayashi's (1996) comparative study of demonstratives in English and Japanese suggests that the motivating factor in choosing a demonstrative can be different according to language. The study revealed that psychological proximity/distance is a determining factor in both languages' systems, but in English, the degree of addressee attention on the referent is more important, whereas in Japanese the domain of the speaker's direct experience is more important. According to Niimura and Hayashi, the role of the speaker's direct experience in the use of demonstratives is well studied in Kinsui and Takubo's (1992) framework, which is "a comprehensive account of the deictic and discourse uses of demonstratives" (p. 331). This framework suggests that the domain of the speaker's direct experience is associated with *ko* and *a* while *so* has to do with the addressee's direct experience. According to Niimura and Hayashi, the distinctive features of *ko* and *a* in the framework are that *ko* signals a highlighted referent that is "in the sphere of the speaker's control or influence" whereas *a* is associated with a nonhighlighted referent "beyond the speaker's control" (p. 331).

One of the important studies of the interactional functions of Japanese demonstratives comes from Naruoka (2006). By analyzing the demonstrative pronouns *kore*, *sore*, and *are* and demonstrative determiners *kono*, *sono*, and *ano* in informal spontaneous conversation, she illustrated how Japanese demonstratives express and emphasize the speaker's emotion and attitude in discourse. Applying the notion of "sphere" (Laury, 1996), Naruoka asserted that *ko*-demonstratives are used to refer to an item inside the speaker's sphere. The speaker intensifies his/her emotion toward a referent inside her/his sphere using *ko*-demonstratives. For example, when the speaker shows antipathy toward a person being referred to, the emotion is emphasized

effectively by presenting the person as if s/he were in the speech situation. As for the *a*-series, Naruoka claimed that the use of *a*-demonstratives establishes solidarity between the speaker and the addressee, leading them to see the referent from the same viewpoint. Thus, the speaker can effectively express solidarity by using the *a*-demonstratives. She also found that unlike *a*-demonstratives, the use of *so*-demonstratives often expresses the speaker's strong negative emotion or attitude. *So*-demonstratives refer to an entity that is outside of the speaker's sphere but inside the addressee's sphere. They can be used in two situations: (a) when the speaker wants to prevent the referent from being in his or her sphere, or (b) when the speaker wants to push the referent into the addressee's sphere. Naruoka's study demonstrated that the speaker's emotion or attitude is a very important factor in the choice of demonstrative in Japanese.

5.3. The Quantitative Analysis

As we have seen, the study of demonstratives has developed from speaker-centered proximity/distance frameworks to interaction-based models in which the addressee is an important factor in a speaker's choice of a demonstrative. The interaction-based frameworks deal with more situated and context-sensitive interactional processes in discourse, and address not only the demonstratives' interactional functions but also their relationships with syntactic categories.

Most of the previous studies of the interactional functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives have focused on pragmatic functions of specific demonstrative forms. Crosslinguistic study of Korean and Japanese demonstratives has been neglected. This study addresses this gap by taking a holistic approach to the demonstratives in these two typologically similar languages, focusing on semantic and pragmatic meanings. In order to do so, it first takes a close look at how demonstratives interact with context because "demonstratives link language to context in distinguishable ways" (Hanks, 1992, p. 48).

For this comparative analysis, the study adopts the theory of focus (Strauss, 2002) as a framework. The theory of focus captures the majority of demonstrative features and deals with not only the different morphosyntactic categories of demonstratives, but also reference types such as exophora, endophora (i.e., anaphora and cataphora), and nonphoric reference. The framework also includes *it* as the Low Focus member of the set containing High Focus *this* and Medium Focus *that*.

The remainder of this chapter presents the quantitative analysis, beginning in Section 5.3.1 with the data collection and methodology. Section 5.3.2 describes the results of the data analysis.

5.3.1. Data and Methodology

Strauss (2002) collected data from an undergraduate (teacher-centered) history lecture, radio talk show, television news interviews, and multiparty conversations between friends produced by native speakers of American English, but she did not categorize her data by type of interaction. Although all of her data were spoken, separate analyses of the data from different sources might have had different results related to the speech participants and the speaking modes (Chafe, 1982; Clancy, 1982). For example, a face-to-face interaction makes it possible for speakers to monitor the effects of their speech, so they may choose demonstratives that further the interaction, whether High, Medium, or Low Focus. A teacher giving a lecture may frequently use the High Focus demonstrative to maintain students' attention. And in a conversation based on shared ground among close friends, the Medium or Low Focus demonstratives may be more frequently used. Furthermore, social variables such as gender, social status, age, and context can affect the use of demonstratives (Kim, 2007). Therefore, this comparative study of demonstratives between Korean and Japanese takes these issues into consideration so that their potential effects can be minimized.

5.3.1.1. Data Collection

My analysis is based on data collected from dyadic casual conversation. By limiting the social variables such as age, gender, social status, and conversational situation, this study attempts to minimize the potential effects of these factors on the results. The Korean and Japanese conversational data presented in this paper were collected in eight dyadic sessions. The participant pairs were of the same gender, similar age, and similar social status. The conversations took place in a classroom at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and were audiorecorded with the participants' consent. Each session lasted approximately 30 minutes. In order to elicit natural conversation, (a) the participants were instructed to talk about whatever they wanted, and (b) each conversational pair consisted of same-gender friends who were accustomed to conversing together. For those who did not have something to talk about, I

suggested several topics, such as life in Hawai‘i, their favorite place to visit, their future plans, or the latest economic and political news from their home country.

5.3.1.2. Participants

All the participants were native speakers of either Korean or Japanese. Four male speakers and four female speakers of each language participated, for eight dyads in total.

Table 9. List of Dyads

Dyad Number	Language	Gender	Dyads
1	Korean	Male	KM1-KM2
2	Korean	Male	KM3-KM4
3	Korean	Female	KF1-KF2
4	Korean	Female	KF3-KF4
5	Japanese	Male	JM1-JM2
6	Japanese	Male	JM3-JM4
7	Japanese	Female	JF1-JF2
8	Japanese	Female	JF3-JF4

5.3.1.3. Korean Participants

Table 10 lists the Korean participants. To protect their identity, only their given names are used.

Table 10. List of Korean Subjects

Subject	Name	Gender	Age	Hometown
1	Sang-swu	M	21	Cencwu
2	Thay-ung	M	19	Seoul
3	Yong-kwi	M	27	Seoul
4	Sung-un	M	25	Seoul
5	Ok-mi	F	26	Ceycwu

6	Keng-lan	F	28	Taykwu
7	Yeng-sin	F	21	Masan
8	Hyen-ceng	F	21	Seoul

Dyad 1 was Sang-swu and Thay-ung, dyad 2 was Yong-Kwi and Sung-un, dyad 3 was Ok-mi and Keng-lan, and dyad 4 was Yeng-sin and Hyen-ceng. Yong-Kwi and Sung-un were attending the University of Hawai‘i as undergraduate students, and Keng-lan was a graduate student. All the other participants were attending the Hawai‘i English Language Program (HELP) at the University of Hawai‘i. All of the participants had lived in the United States for less than six years.

5.3.1.4. Japanese Participants

The Japanese participants are listed in Table 11. Again, only their given names are used.

Table 11. List of Japanese Subjects

Subject	Name	Gender	Age	Hometown
1	Katsuhisa	M	28	Okinawa
2	Kazuki	M	24	Tokyo
3	Yasuhiro	M	25	Ishikawa
4	Daisuke	M	21	Nagoya
5	Chiho	F	27	Osaka
6	Sayaka	F	22	Tokyo
7	Kiyoe	F	26	Kyoto
8	Sayuri	F	20	Saitama

Dyad 1 was Katsuhisa and Kazuki, dyad 2 was Yasuhiro and Daisuke, dyad 3 was Chiho and Sayaka, and dyad 4 was Kiyoe and Sayuri. Kiyoe and Sayuri were undergraduate students at the University of Hawai‘i, and all the other participants were attending the New Intensive Courses in English (NICE) program at the University of Hawai‘i. All participants had lived in the United States less than three years.

5.3.1.5. Transcription

All conversations were audiorecorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were romanized using the Hepburn system for Japanese and the Yale system for Korean. The transcription included conversational features such as backchannel expressions, false starts, fillers, repetitions, laughter, and restarts. Pauses, overlaps, lengths of pauses, and head movements were not noted. Each pair engaged in conversation for approximately 30 minutes, so 280 minutes in total were analyzed for the purpose of the study.

5.3.2. Quantitative Results

5.3.2.1. Categories

As we have seen, demonstratives are associated with the speaker's orientation to eliciting more or less of the addressee's attention, so the target demonstrative forms for this study do not include those in expressions that directly seek agreement or in back-channel expressions. Demonstrative expressions that have a direct agreement-seeking function include *kulay?* 'is that so?' *kuchi?* 'it's right, isn't it?' for Korean, and *a, soo?* 'is that so?' and *soo-deshoo?* 'it's right, isn't it?' for Japanese. Back-channel expressions are those uttered by the addressee to express agreement with the speaker, such as *e, kulay* 'yes, you are right', *kulenika* 'no wonder', and *kuchi* 'you are right' for Korean and *a, soo* or *soone* 'you are right' for Japanese.⁴¹ There are also idiomatic expressions that include demonstrative forms such as *imanceman* 'extremely' and *ikescekes* 'this and that' for Korean, and *karekore* and *arekore* 'this and that' for Japanese. These expressions were also excluded from the analysis.

As seen in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, Korean and Japanese demonstratives include various grammatical categories. Table 12 and Table 13 show the demonstrative forms found in my data, divided according to morphosyntactic category. They are not exhaustive lists.

⁴¹ Back-channel expressions such as *soo* and *soone* 'you're right' are frequently found in Japanese conversation. This analysis found as many as 115 instances, whereas the total frequency of *so*-series forms is 274. This shows that the addressee's response is very conventionalized and important in Japanese discourse as an indication of agreement or attention to the speaker's utterance.

Table 12. Korean demonstrative forms according to categories

	<i>i</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ce</i>
Noun (time expressions)	<i>ipen</i> ‘this time’ <i>icen</i> ‘before (this)’	<i>kunal</i> ‘that day’ <i>kuttay</i> ‘that time’ <i>kucen</i> ‘the past, the other day’	<i>cepen</i> ‘the other day, the last day’
Pronoun	<i>yeki</i> ‘here’ <i>iccok</i> ‘this way’ <i>ike</i> ‘this’	<i>keki</i> ‘there’ <i>kuccok</i> ‘that way’ <i>kuke</i> ‘that’ <i>kyay</i> ⁴² ‘that child’	<i>ceki</i> ‘there’ <i>ceccok</i> ‘that way’ <i>cyay</i> ⁴³ ‘that child’
Adnominal form	<i>i</i> ‘this’ <i>ilen</i> ‘this kind of’ <i>ilel</i> ‘this kind of’	<i>ku</i> ‘that’ <i>kulen</i> ‘that kind of’ <i>kulel</i> ‘that kind of’	<i>ce</i> ‘that’
Adverbial form	<i>ilehkey</i> ‘like this’	<i>kulehkey</i> ‘like that’	
Conjunctive adverbial form		<i>kulentey</i> ‘but’ <i>kurayse</i> ‘so’ <i>kulenikka</i> ‘therefore’ <i>kuliko</i> ‘and’ <i>kulem</i> ‘if so’ <i>kulehciman</i> ‘however’ <i>kulaykac(i)ko</i> ⁴⁴ ‘and so’	
Predicate (verbal) form	<i>ilay-ss-tay</i> do like this-Past-QT ‘(someone) said like this’, <i>ile-canh-a</i> do like this-not-INT ‘(someone) says/does like this, you know’, etc.	<i>kulay-ss-tay</i> ‘(someone) said like that’, <i>kule-canh-a</i> ‘(someone) says/does like that, you know’, etc.	<i>celay</i> ‘do like that’ (only one form)

Regarding these six categories:

- (1) Nominal forms: They are used for time reference; all forms except *ipen* ‘this time’ are used to refer to past time.
- (2) Pronominal forms: *Yeki*, *keki*, *ceki* are used for describing places; *iccok*, *kuccok*, *ceccok* for directions; *ike*, *kuke* for things/objects; *kyay*, *cyay* for persons.

⁴² *Kyay* is a short form of *ku* ‘that’ + *ai* ‘child’.

⁴³ *Cyay* is a short form of *ce* ‘that’ + *ai* ‘child’.

⁴⁴ *Kulaykacko* is a short variant of *kalaykaciko*, which is a combination of *kule* ‘to be so’ and a conjunctive verbal suffix, *-e/a kaciko* ‘cause-result’. *Kulaykac(i)ko* is considered a conjunctive adverb used for logically connecting cause and result, found mostly in colloquial contexts. These forms are also discourse markers (Kang, 2005; Kim, 2015).

- (3) Adnominal forms: *I*, *ku*, *ce* are used for modifying another noun; *ilen*, *kulen* for describing characteristics of an entity; *ilel*, *kulel* for describing an entity that is not realized yet or for expressing the speaker's doubt and probability. *Ilen* and *kulen* are composed of the adjective *ilehta/kulehta* 'to be like this/that' and the adjectival nonpast noun-modifying suffix (or relative suffix) *-(u)n*, while *ilel* and *kulel* are formed with the retrospective suffix *-(u)l*, which conveys the speaker's proposition in relation to the temporal notion of futurity.
- (4) Adverbial forms: *Ilehkey* and *kulehkey* are for describing predicates. *Ilehkey/kulehkey* are composed of the adjectival *ilehta/kulehta* 'to be like this/that' and the adverbial suffix *-key*.
- (5) Conjunctive adverbial forms: Various conjunctive adverbial forms were found, but only from the *ku*-demonstratives: *kulentey*, *kurayse*, *kulenikka*, *kuliko*, *kulem*, *kulehciman*, and *kuraykac(i)ko*. Conjunctive adverbial forms can be broken down into the predicate *kulehata* or *kulihata* 'to be like that/to do like that', followed by various clausal conjunctive suffixes such as *-(un)tey*, *-(e/a)se*, *-(u)nikka*, *-ko*, and so on. The demonstrative *ku* 'that' in conjunctive adverbs has an anaphoric function to refer to an entity mentioned in the previous sentence or discourse.
- (6) Predicate (verbal) forms: Korean has various sentence enders (suffixes) to serve discourse-pragmatic functions in social interaction. These sentence enders are often attached to the demonstrative predicate stems *ileha-/kuleha-* 'to be like this/that' and *iliha-/kuliha-* 'to do like this/that', as in *ile/kule-canha* '(someone) says/does like this, you know'. In my data, the demonstrative predicate stems are frequently combined with the quotation marker *-tay* to form a hearsay expression, as in *ilayss/kulayss-tay* '(someone) said like this/that'.

Table 13 presents all the Japanese demonstrative forms found in my data. Unlike Korean, Japanese does not have demonstrative predicates.

Table 13. Japanese demonstrative forms according to categories

	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Noun (time expressions)	<i>konoaida</i> ‘the other day’ <i>konomae</i> ‘last time, the other day’	<i>sonomae</i> ‘the other day’ <i>sonotoki</i> ‘that time’ <i>sonojiki</i> ‘that time’	<i>anomae</i> ‘the other day, the last day’
Pronoun	<i>koko</i> ‘here’ <i>kocchi</i> ‘this way’ <i>kore</i> ‘this’	<i>soko</i> ‘there’ <i>sore</i> ‘that’	<i>asoko</i> ‘there’ <i>are</i> ‘that way’
Adnominal form	<i>kono</i> ‘this’ <i>konna</i> ‘this kind of’ <i>kooiu</i> ‘this kind of’	<i>sono</i> ‘that’ <i>sonna</i> ‘that kind of’ <i>sooiu</i> ‘that kind of’	<i>ano</i> ‘that’ <i>anna</i> ‘that kind of’ <i>aaiu</i> ‘that kind of’
Adverbial form	<i>koo</i> ‘like this’	<i>soo</i> ‘like that’ <i>sonnani</i> ‘like that’	
Conjunctive adverbial form		<i>sorede</i> ‘and’ <i>soshitara</i> ‘(and) then’ <i>sokode</i> ‘so’	

Regarding these five categories:

- (1) Nominal forms: These are used for time reference; all forms are used to refer to the past.
- (2) Pronominal forms: *Koko*, *soko*, *asoko* are used for describing places; only *kocchi* is used for directions; *kore*, *sore*, *are* are used for things/objects.
- (3) Adnominal forms: *Kono*, *sono*, *ano* are used for modifying another noun; *konna*, *sonna*, *anna* for describing characteristics of an entity. *Kooiu*, *sooiu*, *aaiu* ‘this/that kind of’ are the combination of the adverb *koo/soo/aa* and the verb *iu* ‘to say’ and used as a fixed form to modify the following noun or noun phrase or clause.
- (4) Adverbial forms: *Koo*, *soo*, and *sonnani* are adverbial forms and describe predicates.
- (5) Conjunctive adverbial forms: Only three demonstrative conjunctive adverbial forms were found in the Japanese data, and they use only the medial *so*-demonstrative.

5.3.2.2. Frequency

This section describes the overall frequency of all the demonstrative forms found in my data. One of the interesting findings is that both Korean and Japanese conjunctive adverbs are used only with the medial demonstratives, although Korean has a much wider variety of these demonstrative forms than Japanese. As discussed in Chapter 4, Korean and Japanese have

different morphology in the formation of demonstrative forms, at least when it comes to demonstrative predicates and conjunctions.

With these features in mind, the comparative quantitative analysis focuses on total percentages rather than total numbers of demonstrative forms. Table 14 and Figure 3 show the results of counting all demonstrative forms in the Korean and Japanese data.

Table 14. Total Frequency of Korean and Japanese Demonstratives

Demonstratives	Korean	Japanese
Proximal <i>i</i> and <i>ko-</i>	202 (20.8%)	84 (25%)
Medial <i>ku</i> and <i>so-</i>	752 (77.3%)	159 (47.3%)
Distal <i>ce</i> and <i>a-</i>	19 (2%)	93 (27.7%)
Total	973 (100.0%)	336 (100.0%)

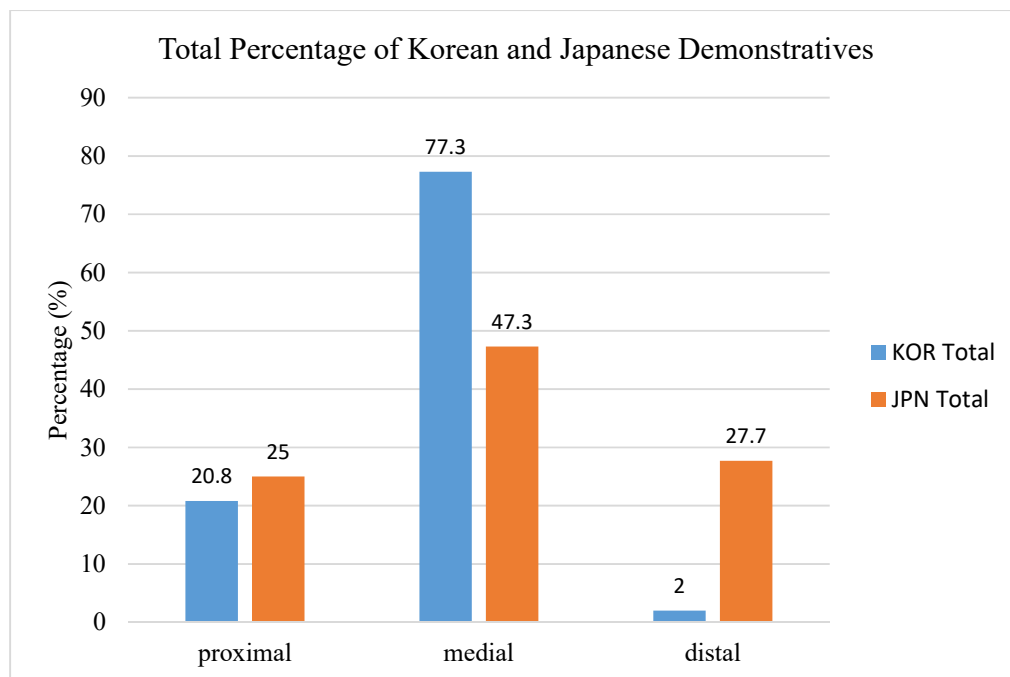


Figure 3. Total Percentages of Korean and Japanese Demonstratives

Although the comparative analysis is more concerned with percentages, it is noteworthy that the Korean demonstratives are almost three times more frequent than the Japanese

demonstratives. Another finding is that in Korean, the distal demonstrative is used much less than the proximal and medial demonstratives, while in Japanese all three types are frequently used, although the medial demonstrative is prominent. This finding is in line with the difference between Korean and Japanese in the forms' anaphoric functions, as observed in the literature. To briefly review, the Korean distal *ce* is mostly used for its deictic function. When *ce* is used as a hesitation marker, it is used for the purpose of politeness in that it mitigates a face-threatening act. We can presume that in face-to-face casual conversation between close friends, as in this dataset, *ce* is not often employed for this purpose. Unlike *ce*, the Korean medial *ku* has two functions, anaphoric and recognitional, while in Japanese these two functions are split between the *so*-series and the *a*-series demonstratives, respectively. The Korean demonstrative *ku* in my data is frequently used to make cohesive connections in discourse. Based on the results of this frequency count, it seems safe to claim that *ku* and the *so*-series are the unmarked anaphoric demonstratives in spoken discourse.

5.3.2.3. Frequency by Category

Figure 4 and Figure 5 shows the overall frequency of Korean and Japanese demonstratives by category. Notable in the Korean graph is the high percentage of conjunctive adverbs used with the medial demonstrative *ku*. The medial forms also frequently occur in the other categories, except adverbs. The Japanese *so*-series also occurs more frequently than the other demonstratives in all categories except nouns, with the pronominal and adnominal forms dominant. The Korean *ce* demonstratives are prominent in their pronominal forms, as in *ceke* 'that (thing)'. The Japanese *a*-series is frequently used in their adnominal forms like *ano* 'that N', and pronominal forms like *are* 'that (thing)'. Both the Korean and the Japanese proximal demonstratives are frequently used in their nominal and pronominal forms.

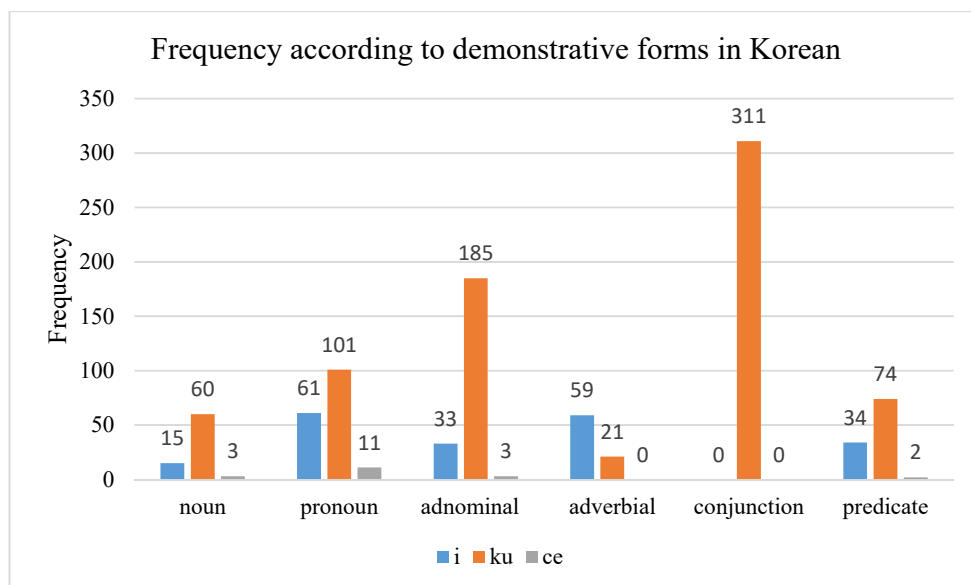


Figure 4. Frequency of demonstrative forms by category in Korean

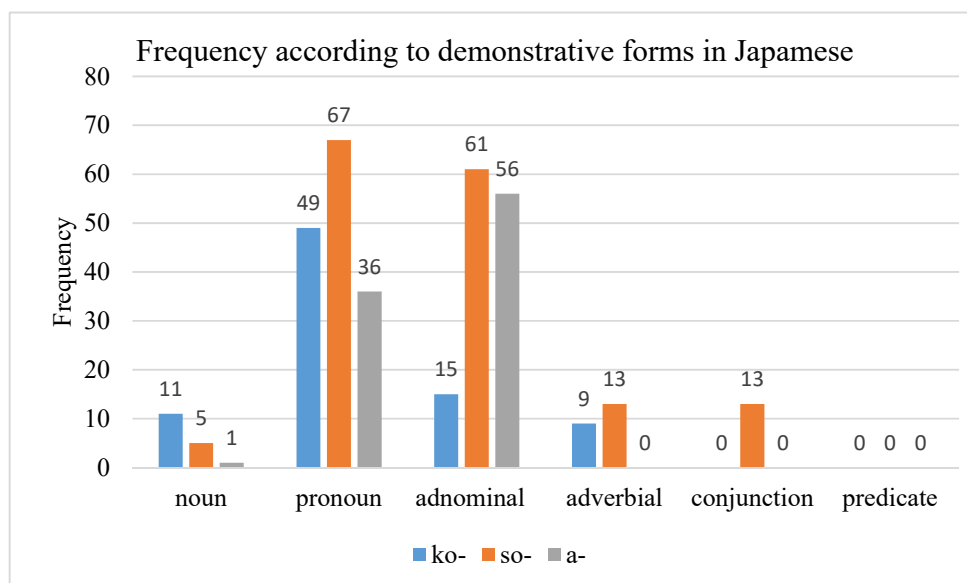


Figure 5. Frequency of demonstrative forms by category in Japanese

Figure 6 shows the overall percentages of demonstratives by categories in Korean and Japanese. It illustrates that demonstrative forms in conjunctive adverbs and predicates are prominent in Korean whereas demonstratives in pronominal and adnominal forms are prominent in Japanese.

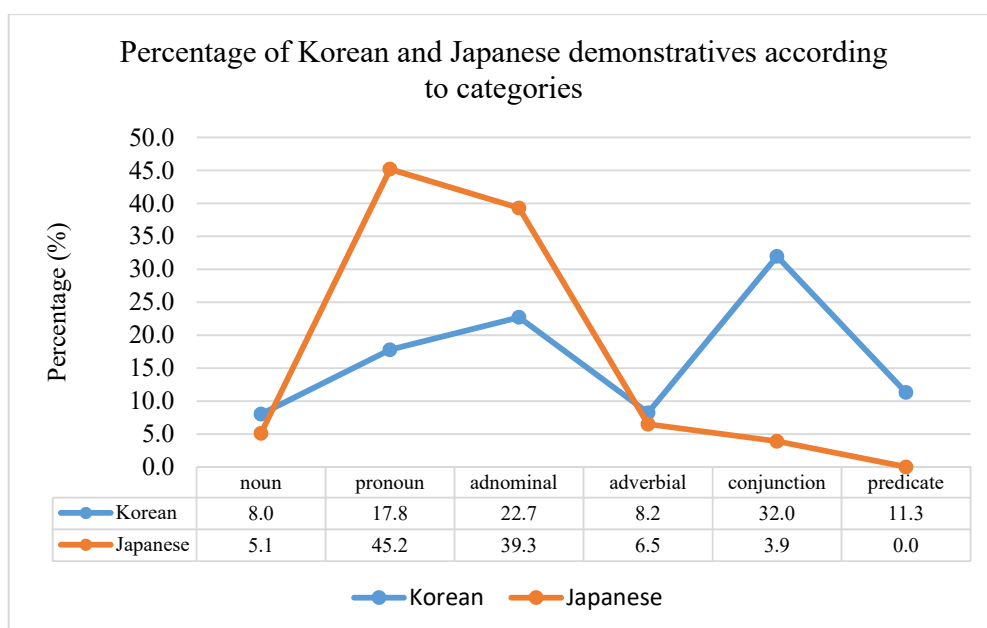


Figure 6. Percentages of demonstrative forms by category

5.3.2.4. Frequency by Speakers' Gender

The role of speakers' gender is not a main concern of this study, but my data illustrate that gender can be one of the important variables in the usage of demonstratives in Korean. As Table 15 shows, Korean female speakers use demonstrative forms more frequently than Korean male speakers whereas Japanese male speakers use them more than female speakers, although the differences are not large. The discrepancy between male and female speakers is 7.2% in Korean and 1.8% in Japanese. In another comparative study of discourse markers and gender in Korean and Japanese conversation, I found that Korean and Japanese female speakers tend to use those discourse markers that express the speaker's uncertainty or noncommittal attitude such as *kunyang* 'just' in Korean and *nanka* 'what' in Japanese, while male speakers tend to frequently use demonstrative discourse markers, specifically in their adnominal forms such as *ku* 'that N' in Korean and *ano* 'that N' in Japanese (Kim, 2007). However, the results of this quantitative analysis of all demonstrative forms reveals that Korean female speakers use demonstratives the most frequently among the participants, raising the question of why Korean female speakers use demonstratives a lot. The question will be answered in the next chapter by analyzing the context, but the most frequently used categories shown in Figure 4 and Figure 5 hint at the answer.

Table 15. Total Percentages by Speaker Gender

	Korean	Japanese
Male	451 (46.4%)	171 (50.9%)
Female	522 (53.6%)	165 (49.1%)
Total	973 (100%)	336 (100%)

Figure 7 and Figure 8 shows speaker gender differences in the use of demonstratives by category. Overall, the Korean female speakers employ demonstrative forms in all categories except pronominal forms with high frequency. Their most frequently used categories are conjunctive adverbs and adnominal forms. As Figure 4 and Figure 5 shows, these categories are frequently marked by the medial *ku* demonstrative. This finding suggests that Korean female speakers favor demonstrative forms that function in discourse to encourage joint attention and involve the addressee in the conversation.

Japanese male speakers prefer the pronominal and adnominal forms, while Japanese female speakers use adverbs and conjunctive adverbs more frequently than male speakers. According to Strauss and Feiz (2014), adverbs are one of the most powerful grammatical categories in terms of stance marking (p. 32). Thus, we can predict that Japanese female speakers frequently use demonstrative adverbs to mark the speaker's stance, viewpoint, and epistemic position toward the addressee or what is said (p. 32). Overall, male speakers in both languages use demonstrative pronouns the most frequently, while female speakers use demonstrative adverbs and conjunctions with relatively high frequency compared to male speakers.

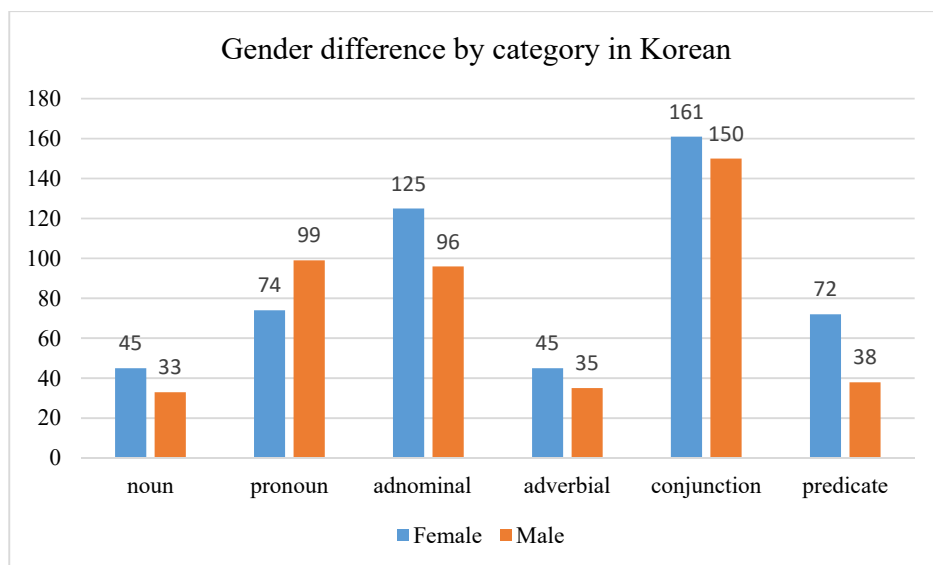


Figure 7. Gender difference by category in Korean

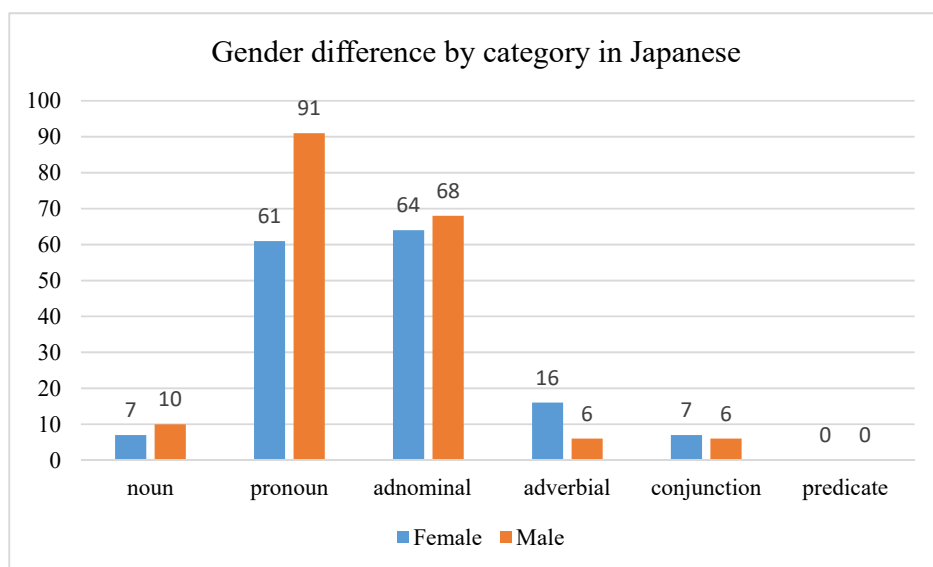


Figure 8. Gender difference by category in Japanese

5.3.2.5. Summary

The choice of demonstrative forms in different categories is not random, but has to do with the speaker's subjective or interactional intention as well as a language's communicative speech style. This chapter's quantitative analysis shows that demonstrative forms in conjunctive adverb and predicate categories are frequently used by Korean speakers, whereas demonstrative forms in pronoun and adnominal categories are more dominant in Japanese. This difference

suggests that the different morphology in the formation of demonstrative forms (i.e., demonstrative predicates and conjunctions) in Korean and Japanese provides different communicative speech styles in using demonstratives. For example, in Korean, the combination of demonstrative predicate stems (*kuleh-* and *kuleha-*) with sentence enders and clausal conjunctive suffixes forms conjunctive adverbs and has various pragmatic functions in discourse, and is more frequently employed than the corresponding demonstrative forms in Japanese, and therefore, Korean and Japanese can have different communicative styles in using demonstratives. To explore this point in detail, Chapter 6 provides a qualitative analysis of how each of the two languages uses demonstratives.

CHAPTER 6. DEMONSTRATIVES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CASUAL SPEECH: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

6.1. Applying the Focus Framework to Korean and Japanese Demonstratives

6.1.1. Defining Reference Type for the Study

Following Strauss (2002), I categorize all demonstrative forms into four reference types: exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric. The exophoric use of demonstratives has to do with spatiotemporal deixis, primarily situational rather than linguistic. The anaphoric and the cataphoric use of demonstratives carry language-internal functions in that the entity that the speaker refers to can be identified in the preceding (anaphoric) or following (cataphoric) discourse. In anaphoric and cataphoric usages, demonstratives can be coreferential with not only nouns or noun phrases, but also propositions expressed by a clause, a sentence, or a paragraph.

The nonphoric demonstratives are used to refer to an entity that is not identifiable in the surrounding discourse, but exists only in the speaker's mind. According to Strauss (2002), such nonphoric use tends to occur in spoken discourse and is found only with the modifier function of demonstrative forms, so the Low Focus *it* never occurs nonphorically. Strauss also asserted that the nonphoric use of demonstratives has to do with information status, "governed primarily by whether or not the speaker presumes the hearer to have any knowledge with respect to the referent in question" (p. 146). This description is in line with Himmelmann's (1996) explanation of the recognitional uses of demonstratives. According to Himmelmann, the recognitional uses occur when the speaker is uncertain whether the addressee shares knowledge of the target referent or can identify the referent based on the provided information. Hence, they are often followed by expressions that function to confirm the addressee's knowledge, such as *you know?* or *remember?* In Strauss's categorization, nonphoric reference is the type most closely related to pragmatic functions. Speakers frequently use nonphoric demonstratives as an interactional resource when the target referent exists only in the speaker's mind; for example, when searching for an appropriate word. Strauss asserted that when nonphoric demonstratives are used as hesitation fillers, they function to elicit more or less of the addressee's attention. Himmelmann (1996) also suggested that the recognitional use often involves hesitation. However, he asserted that when a speaker uses a demonstrative while hesitating because of cognitive constraints, the use of the demonstrative indicates that the target referent is known to the addressee.

Himmelmann's recognitional use, in which the knowledge of the referent is shared, is therefore different from Strauss's nonphoric use, in which it is not. However, for my analysis, I classify all hesitation fillers as nonphoric, as I consider their primary use to be their interactional function.

To sum up, for the qualitative analysis presented in this chapter, I divide all demonstrative forms found in my data into four reference types: exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric. This study takes a holistic approach to consider every type of use of demonstratives in Korean and Japanese. It does so by analyzing demonstratives in actual conversation in terms of the four reference types and according to Strauss's theory of focus, in which the choice of demonstrative is related to the speaker's intention regarding the addressee's degree of attention to the referent. In some cases, the demonstrative reference types will be further categorized according to morphosyntactic form to investigate how they are related to each other.

6.2. Korean Demonstratives

Chapter 5 presented a quantitative analysis of the use of demonstratives in my dataset of casual speech between pairs of close friends in their 20s. I found that of the three types of Korean demonstratives, the medial *ku* demonstratives (77.3%) occurred most frequently, followed by the proximal *i* demonstratives (20.8%) and the distal *ce* demonstratives (2%). (See Table 14 in Chapter 5.) In this chapter, these three types of Korean demonstratives are further categorized according to their reference types to see how they actually appear in casual speech. Table 16 shows the results of a frequency count of Korean demonstratives by reference type. In the following sections, I will focus on the meaning, motivations, and interactional functions of the Korean and Japanese demonstratives from a dynamic perspective by analyzing reference types in context in the data of casual speech. Furthermore, I will explore whether or not the semantic and pragmatic features of Korean demonstratives have much to do with the concept of focus, or the motivating factors for choosing one demonstrative form over another.

Table 16. Korean Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>I</i>	84 (41.6%)	72 (35.6%)	6 (3%)	40 (19.8%)	202 (100%)
<i>Ku</i>	0 (0%)	558 (74.2%)	23 (3.1%)	171 (22.7%)	752 (100%)
<i>Ce</i>	12 (63.2%)	0 (0%)	3 (15.8%)	4 (21.1%)	19 (100%)

6.2.1. Korean *I* Demonstratives

Table 17 shows the total frequency of Korean *i* demonstratives by reference type. Among the four reference types, the *i* demonstratives occur in exophoric uses (41.6%) most frequently, followed by anaphoric uses (35.6%) and nonphoric uses (19.8%). Only 3% of *i* demonstratives are used for cataphoric reference.

Table 17. Korean *I* Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>I</i>	84 (41.6%)	72 (35.6%)	6 (3%)	40 (19.8%)	202 (100%)

6.2.1.1. Exophoric Reference

Exophora are associated with spatiotemporal reference; they are used to refer to something in the context of the speech situation. For example, a person noticing a photo album on a desk near her/himself could ask its owner *Ike com pomyen antoy?* ‘Can I take a look at **this?**’ The pronominal form *ike* refers to the photo album and indexes its closeness to the speaker. In this case, the referent does not involve linguistic cues but requires the addressee’s direct attention to the referent (e.g., looking at the album). Thus, *ike* signals High Focus in that it strongly requires the addressee’s attention.

Table 18 shows the Korean *i* demonstratives used for exophoric reference in my data according to category.

Table 18. Korean I Demonstratives: Exophoric Reference by Category

Noun	Pronoun	Adnominal	Adverb	Predicate	Conjunction	Total
13 (15.5%)	52 (61.9%)	4 (4.8%)	15 (17.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0%)	84 (100%)

The most frequent category in exophoric reference is the pronouns (61.9%), followed by adverbs (17.9%). The nominal forms (15.5%) are all temporal nouns. Four tokens of adnominal forms (4.8%) occur in the dataset.

Among the most frequently used pronominal forms in exophoric reference are *yeki* ‘here’ and *ike* ‘this’. The semantic meaning of *yeki* involves the deictic center, that is, it refers to the place where the speaker is. Because Korean personal pronouns do not make an inclusive-exclusive distinction, both speaker and addressee, or only the speaker, can be in the place to which *yeki* refers. However, the speaker’s intention in using *yeki* has to do with what the speaker considers “here” at a particular moment and for a particular purpose. Enfield (2003) called such a conceptually defined area “here-space,” and described it in terms of a speaker’s “engagement area,” which constantly changes during interaction (p. 89).

Excerpt 1 shows how a speaker narrows the space for discourse planning by using different spatial exophoric forms.

Excerpt 1

- OM: a. *kulem enni-ka enni cenkongha-ko*,
Then sister-NM sister major-and
b. *ani, oykwuk-eyse ilha-lye-men etten ke hay-ya-tway?*
No, foreign country-in work-intend-if what thing do-must-become
- ‘Then, utilizing your major, well, what do you have to do if you want to work in a foreign country?’
- KL: c. *Aa, yeki-se cikum cap-ul, na-to cal molu-ketun?*
Oh, here-in now jon-AC I-also well do not know-you know
d. *kuntay, choykun-ey lisutu-lul pat-a-noh-un key iss-nuntay*
however, recent-at list-AC get-INF-place-RL thing have-but
e. *icey com seechi-lul hay-pw-aya-ci.*
Now a little search-AC do-try-must-SUP
- ‘Aah, I don’t even know if I can get a job **here**. However, I have some lists downloaded, and I need to start searching for a job from now on.’
- OM: f. *Um.*
Yes.

- ‘I see.’
- KL: g. *Kuntey, iccok-ulo manhata-n-ta.*
 However, this side-to be a lot-IN-DC
 ‘But, I heard that there are [jobs] on **this side** [i.e., in this field].’
- OM: h. *a, cengmal? Hakkyo, calha-myen*
 Oh, really? school, do well-if
 ‘Oh, really? If it works well, [you can work at a] school.’
- KL: i. *ilehkey hakkyo kath-un tey-to kuleh-ko*
 Like this school be like-RL place-also do so-and
 ‘It is a school [field] like this, and’
- OM: j. *hakkyo, calha-myen kolien ccok-ulo-to*
 School do well- if Korean side-to-also
 ‘If it works well, [you can work at a] school and also [teach] on the Korean side [field].’
- KL: k. *kolien ccok-ulo manhata.*
 Korean side-to be a lot
 ‘There are many on the side [i.e., in the field] of Korean [teaching].’
- OM: l. *e, kule-l kes kath-ay.*
 Yes, do PRS-RL thing be like –INT
 ‘Yeah, it seems so.’

Excerpt 1 is a fragment of conversation between two female speakers, OM and KL. KL is a graduate student majoring in second language studies, and she is talking about her future plans. OM asks KL about the kinds of job she can find in *oaykwuk* ‘a foreign county’, in (1b). Due to the nature of her major, KL could return to Korea to get an English teaching job, which is what she had previously told OM she planned to do. KL interprets *oaykwuk* ‘a foreign county’ as foreign to Korea, and specifically the United States, and answers OM that she does not know what kind of job she can get *yeki* ‘here’, in (1c). KL employs the pronoun *iccok* ‘this way/side’ in (1g) to refer to jobs related to school work. *Iccok* ‘this way/side’ is a pronominal form and lexically describes a direction rather than a space. The use of *iccok* indicates that KL’s focus is narrowed down from a space, *yeki* ‘here’, to a direction, *iccok* ‘this side’. Interestingly, OM catches KL’s intention in using *iccok* and seems sure of what *iccok* describes, as shown by her reactive token *a, cengmal?* ‘oh, really?’ In fact, in a previous conversation, KL told OM that she was looking for a job related to her major, saying: *cenkong-kwa kwanlyentoyn ccok-ulo sayngkakhako isse* (lit., ‘I am thinking of a job related to [**the side** of] my major field’). Thus, in Excerpt 1, KL uses *iccok* anaphorically to refer to a referent previously mentioned in the

discourse. Her use of the *i* demonstrative rather than the unmarked anaphoric *ku* demonstrative suggests her assumption that the addressee can imagine the referent without having experienced it, even though the topic is her personal thoughts and plans. Thus, the *i* demonstratives convey the speaker's intention more clearly to the addressee. Once KL has narrowed the focus from *yeki* 'here' to *iccok* 'this side', which implies a general direction, OM understands the speaker's intention and mentions possible fields to which KL could direct her search for a job, such as *hakkyo* 'school' (1j) and *korian ccok* 'the Korean field' (1l). The *i* demonstratives in expressions describing physical space in this interaction do not encode proximity/distance, but rather the interlocutors' attention, conceptual space, and common ground.

6.2.1.2. Anaphoric Reference

Among the reference types of *i* demonstratives, anaphoric reference (35.6%) is the second most frequent, following exophoric reference. *I* demonstratives in anaphoric reference have to do with the speaker's cognitive domain and knowledge unknown by the addressee. Table 19 shows that among the 72 tokens of anaphoric uses of *i* demonstratives, predicate (verbal) forms are the most frequently used (45.8%), followed by adnominal forms (31.9%). No nominal or conjunctive adverbial forms in the data are used for anaphoric reference. The anaphoric predicate form *ile(ha)ta* is often combined with various SEs and frequently used to mark a direct quotation. The most frequently used predicate forms, in order, are *ilenun keya* '(someone) says like this, you know', *ilemyense* 'saying like this', *ilaysstay* 'I heard someone saying like this', and *ilenikka* '(someone) says like this, so'. Both the predicate and the adnominal forms are more frequently used by female than by male speakers. The anaphoric use of *i* demonstratives has to do with interactional strategies to draw the addressee's attention to what the speaker is saying.

Table 19. Korean I Demonstratives: Anaphoric Reference by Category

Noun	Pronoun	Adnominal	Adverb	Predicate	Conjunction	Total
0 (0%)	9 (12.5%)	23 (31.9%)	7 (9.7%)	33 (45.8%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)

Excerpt 2 shows a conversation between two female speakers, HC and YS.

Excerpt 2

- HC: a. *Ceyini-ka Sen-a enni-poko ne il(i)-lo ap-ulo naw-a-kaciko*
Jaynee-NM Sen-a sister to you here-to front-to come out-INF-then
b. *ni sokay hay-la.*
You Introduction do-IM

'Jaynee asked Sen-a to come in front and introduce herself [to the class].'
- YS: c. *Eme eme!*
Oh my, oh my
'Oh my, oh my!'
- HC: d. *hay-ss-nuntey Sen-a enni-ka aa aa, mak iley-kaciko, kapcaki*
Do-PST-but Sen-a sister-NM ah, ah, really do this-then, suddenly
e. *Ceyini-lang na-lang chinha-nikka Ceyini-ka na-poko*
Jaynee-and I-and close-so Jaynee-NM I-to

'Sun-a **said [did] like this**, uhh, uhh, so suddenly to me, because we are close,'
- YS: f. *E*
Yes
'Yes'
- HC: g. *ne naw-a-pwa na-hantey ile-nun ke-ya.*
You come out-INF-try I-to do like this-RL thing-INT
'She [Jaynee] **said to me like this**, you come in front.'
- YS: h. *Ung*
Yes
'Yes'
- HC: i. *kulayse nay-ka naka-ssta?*
So I-NM come out-PST
'So, I went to the front.'
- YS: j. *Ung*
Yes
'Yes'
- HC: k. *Ni-ka cyay-hantey cilmwun-ul hay-se*
You-NM that child-to question-AC do-and then
l. *niney twul-i tayhwa-lul hay-pwa ile-nun ke-ya.*
You guys two-NM conversation-AC do-try (IM) do like this-RL thing-INT

'She [Jaynee] **said like this**, you know, you ask questions and have a conversation together.'
- YS: m. *Eme!*
Oh my
'Oh my!'

In Excerpt 2, HC is telling YS what happened when Sen-a came to class for the first time as a new student. HC describes the situation very vividly, quoting Sen-a and Jaynee, the English teacher. The predicate forms *ilay-kaciko* ‘Sen-a said [did] like this, uhh, uhh, so’ (2d) and *ile-nun keya* ‘she [Jaynee] said like this, you know’ (2g, 2l) are all used anaphorically to refer to what was said; that is, they are direct quotation utterances. The Korean connective *-e/a kaciko* denotes a cause or a reason for the following sequences. In other words, *ilaykaciko* in (2d) indicates that the quotation from Jaynee introduced by *ile(ha)y-* ‘do like this’ in (2g) was the reason HC was asked to converse with Sen-a. The other anaphoric form, *ile-nun keya* is used twice to quote what Jaynee said. The predicate demonstrative form *ile-nun keya* consists of the proximal predicate form *ile(ha)ta* and *-(u)n/nun keya*, which has the following syntactic structure: the adnominalizer *-(u)n/nun*, the bound noun *kes* ‘thing’, and the copular intimate sentence ender *i-a* ‘to be’. The bound noun *kes* is shortened in conversation to *ke*, and the copular sentence ender *-a* is attached to the noun *ke* when the final consonant *s* in *kes* is deleted. With an adnominalizer preceding *ke*, it functions as a nominalizer, as in *mek-nun ke* ‘thing that (subject) eats’. According to Jung (2015), *-(u)n/nun keya* often appears in narrations of past experience and gives a dramatic tone to a story. Jung asserted that the form is related to the speaker’s stance, encoding an assessment of the speaker’s background knowledge, and frequently used by Korean female speakers. The two instances of *ile-nun keya* in Excerpt 2 support Jung’s claim in that it is used by female speakers and adds vividness to the story, as if the quoted utterance were being made in the current speech situation. By using *i* rather than the unmarked anaphoric *ku*, the form *ile-nun keya* effectively asserts the unexpected and surprising nature of the information to the speaker, as well as the speaker’s assumption that the information is unknown or unshared by the addressee. Thus, the expression strongly requires the addressee’s attention. YS’s surprise, marked by the exclamation word *eme!* (2c, 2m), indicates that the quoted utterance effectively grabbed the addressee’s attention. The use of *ile-nun keya* in this excerpt is in line with Strauss’s (2002) High Focus function, serving to “heighten the interlocutor’s interest by adding vividness in telling funny, exciting, or otherwise affectively loaded narratives” (p. 146).

The adnominal form *ilen* ‘this kind of’ is also frequently used for proximal anaphoric reference. In Excerpt 3, the female speaker, YS, is talking about a person about whom she read in a newspaper, but she cannot remember the details. She searches her memory, and seems to have a

hard time making the referents clear, using *ilen* in *ilen salam* ‘that kind of person’ to refer to the previously mentioned referent, and in *ilen ke* ‘that kind of thing’ to refer to the *hoytam* ‘conference’.

Excerpt 3

- YS: a. *A, tto ney-ka ceney sinmwun-ul wuyenhi pw-ass-nuntey*
 Ah, also I-NM before newspaper-AC accidentally see-PST-but
 b. *kuttay mwusun cengchi, cengchi oykyohak.kwa mwe ilay-kacikwu,*
 that time some politics, political science something say like this-and then
 c. *a, taychwung cengchi oykyokwan ilen salam-i mwe hoytam ilen-ke*
 ah, roughly political diplomat this kind of person-NM something conference this kind of -thing
 d. *taythonglyeng-ul hoytamha-nuntay ku salam-i yueichi naw-ass-nun ke-la.*
 President-AC do conference-and that person-NM UH graduate-PST-RL thing- RT
 e. *cengchi oykyohak.kwa*
 political science

‘Oh, I chanced to read in a newspaper before, something politics, the department of political science, something like this, well, roughly, something like **this kind of person**, a political diplomat, well, something like **this kind of thing**, a conference, attending a conference with the president, a person who graduated from UH, you know. The department of political science.’

- HC: f. E, e
 Yes, yes
 ‘Yes, yes’

- YS: g. a, nalumi-kwuna.
 Oh, depend-APP
 ‘Oh, it depends on [the person].’

The noun following *ilen* is the anaphoric referent of *ilen*. That is, *cengchi oykyokwan* ‘political diplomat’ is categorized as the person in *ilen salam* ‘that kind of person’ and *hoytam* ‘conference’ is categorized as the thing in *ilen ke* ‘this kind of thing’. The anaphoric use of *i* demonstratives is associated with new and nonshared information. *Ilen* in Excerpt 3 indicates that the speaker knows the referent, but cannot clearly express (being unable to remember the details). The question that arises is why YS did not use another adnominal form, *i*, which specifies a referent clearly. By using *i*, she could effectively hide her uncertainty about the referent and make her attempt to draw the addressee’s attention stronger.

Being able to clearly indicate a referent with confidence and accuracy is a strong way to draw an addressee’s attention, but the Korean female speakers in my data frequently do not do so, instead using *ilen*. This finding suggests that *ilen*’s use is related to an important social value in conversation: It helps speakers achieve a comfortable interaction by making their utterance sound

insignificant and unassertive. Korean speakers may not be aware of this function because the use of the adnominal *ilen* is so conventionalized, yet the motivating factor for using *ilen* is associated with politeness.

6.2.1.3. Cataphoric Reference

Only six tokens of *i* demonstratives are used cataphorically, that is, to refer to an entity that appears in a later utterance or discourse. Four of the six tokens are the adverbial form *ilehkey* ‘like this’, and two are the pronominal form *ike* ‘that’. Interestingly, all six tokens occur when the speaker is hesitating in order to produce appropriate expressions or words in the given context. Excerpt 4 shows that *ilehkey* is used to mark a quotation or to describe a situation or object, often along with a body gesture.

Excerpt 4

- YS: a. *ku enni naisu ttay-nun te simha-ci anh-ass-e?*
 That sister NICE time-TC more too much-NOM not-PST-INT (Q)
 b. *kuttay wancen kongcwu koncwu-y-ess-e.*
 that time completely princess princess-be-PST-INT
 ‘She was too much when [we had a party in] the NICE program, wasn’t she? She was a complete princess that time.’
- HC: c. *ku kkamansayk mwe-ci, kukka, aa, meli*
 That black color what-Q well, uh, hair
 d. *ilehkey wancen tulesu ip-un kes chelem ta oli-ko*
 like this completely dress wear-RL thing as if all put up-and
 e. *mok.kel.i wancen*
 necklace completely
 ‘That black color, what is it? So, oh, hair, **like this**, hair up as if she were wearing a dress, necklace, completely,’
- YS: f. Ee, al.a, al.a
 Yes, I know, I know.
 ‘Yeah, yeah, I know, I know.’

YS and HC in Excerpt 4 are talking about their mutual friend, who attended the NICE program (an English program at UH) with them. In describing her outfit at a school party, HC has a hard time recalling how it looked, using hesitation markers, such as *mweci* ‘what is it’ and *kukka* ‘so’ in (4c). HC then uses *ilehkey* just before describing her princess-like clothes with a body

gesture of acting out putting on a dress, as if she were actually the person. By using High Focus *ilehkey* as a cataphor as in (4d), for a referent not shared yet, and along with a body gesture, the speaker effectively draws the addressee's attention to what she is about to say while the speaker is still organizing or formulating what to say. At the same time, *ilehkey* also helps HC hold the floor, giving the effect: "I am trying to find appropriate expressions, so don't interrupt me." Thus, the interactional function of the cataphoric use of *ilehkey* is to facilitate the speaker's temporizing and delaying, as she organizes her discourse.

6.2.1.4. Nonphoric Reference

In nonphoric uses, demonstratives refer to an entity that does not exist within the context of the situation, but only in the speaker's mind. In my data, the adverbial form *ilehkey* 'like this' is the most frequently used, followed by the adnominal form *i* 'this'. When *ilehkey* is used for this function in casual speech, its variant form, *ikhey*, occurs more frequently.

Ikhey in Excerpt 5 neither refers to any word or utterance in the context, nor describes a situation or object, but rather indexes that the speaker is hesitating and presumably planning what to say next.

Excerpt 5

- SS: a. *Hahaha, molu-kyess-e, mwe ha-nun-ci. Yenlak, yenlak-i,*
 (laughter) do not know-guess-INT what do-RL-SUP. Contact, contact-NM
 b. *a, nay-ka salam-tul-hanthey ikhey cakkwu ikhey mak nay-ka*
 ah, I-NM people-PL-to like this often like this really I-NM
 c. *wonlay yenlakha-ko mak kule-ci mos ha-ketun.*
 Always contact-and really do so-NOM cannot do-you see

'(laughter) I don't know what he is doing. Contact, contact, well, to people, **like**, often, **like**, really, I can't really contact people well, you know.'

SS describes himself as a person who cannot contact people easily in Excerpt 5, but he shows hesitation in expressing himself to the addressee. The use of *ikhey* is very similar to the use of *ilehkey* in its cataphoric use. The only difference is that the referent marked by *ikhey* in nonphoric use does not exist anywhere in the context. The pragmatic function is much stronger in nonphoric uses than in cataphoric uses. That is, the interactional function of temporizing as well as organizing discourse signals the speaker's strong intention to continue talking.

6.2.2. Korean *Ku* Demonstratives

More than three quarters of all the Korean demonstrative forms in my data are *ku* demonstratives (76.6%), indicating that *ku* demonstratives play a remarkable role in spoken discourse. As Table 20 shows, the *ku* demonstratives are mainly used for anaphoric reference (74.2%), followed by nonphoric reference (22.7%). The *ku* demonstratives are not used for exophoric reference in my data.

Table 20. Korean *Ku* Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>Ku</i>	0 (0%)	558 (74.2%)	23 (3.1%)	171 (22.7%)	752 (100%)

6.2.2.1. Anaphoric Reference

In my data, the most frequently used anaphoric forms, in order, are the adnominal *ku* ‘that’, the conjunctive adverbial *kulaykaciko/kulaykacko* ‘so, accordingly’, and the pronominal *kuke* ‘that’. In addition to these forms, various conjunctive adverbial forms are frequently used for the anaphoric function.

Excerpt 6 shows the typical use of *ku* demonstratives in anaphoric reference. It also includes the adnominal *ku* and the pronominal *kuke* as anaphors. Two female speakers, OM and KL, are talking about their mutual Japanese friend, Kaori. OM and KL both already know that Kaori visited Korea recently.

Excerpt 6

- OM: a. *a, macta, macta, Kaoli ennni*
 Oh, right, right, Kaoli sister
 ‘Oh, right! Sister Kaori.’
- KL: b. *Ung*
 Yes
 ‘Yes’
- OM: c. *na-ka malhay-ss-na?*
 I-NM say-PST-Q
 ‘Did I tell you?’

- KL: d. *mwe?*
what
'what'
- OM: e. *cepen-ey hankwuk ka-ss-ta-wa, ka-ss-ta-wa-ss-canh-a*
Last time-at Korea go-PST-INF-com go-PST-INF-come-PST-you see-INT
'She went to Korea last time, right?'
- KL: f. *Ung.*
Yes
'Right'
- OM: g. *Yeng-wen po-le*
Yeng-wen see-in order to
'To see Yeng-wen.'
- KL: h. *mwe po-le?*
What see-in order to
'To see what?'
- OM: i. *ku kheyi, ku ennni kheyi.phap phayn-i-canh-a, phayn-i-ya.*
That K, that sister K pop fan-be-you see- INT, fan-be-INT
'Well, K, she [i.e., **that** sister] is a K-Pop fan, right? [I tell you that she] is a K-Pop fan.'
- KL: j. *kheyi phap?*
K-Pop
'K-Pop?'
- OM: k. *Ung.*
Yes
'Yes'
- KL: l. *kuke-y mwe-y-a*
That-NM what-be-INT
'What is **that**?'
- OM: m. *Kheyi.phap-i-la-ko kaswu iss-keteng?*
K pop-be-DC-QT singer exist-you see
'It is called K-Pop. There is a singer, you know.'
- KL: n. *mac-na.*
Right-Q
'Is there?'
- OM: o. *kuke-y khaintu opu aitola sutha-ya.*
That-NM kind of adol star-INT
'**That** [singer] is kind of an idol star.'
- KL: p. *Um.*
yes
'Yes'
- OM: q. *kuke-y kheyi.phap-i tases myeng-i-ntey, kyay-lul nemwu nemwu cohahay-ss-e.*
That-NM K pop-NM five people-be-but that child-AC very very like-PST-INT
'**That is**, K-Pop has five members, but she likes **him** [i.e., **that child**] so much.'

- KL: r. *Um.*
Yes.
'Yes'
- OM: s. *ku tases myeng cwung-ey han myeng Yeng-won-i-la-nun ay-ka iss-nuntay*
That five people among-in one person Yeng-won-be-DC-RT child-NM exist-and
'Among the five members, there is a guy called Yeng-wen.'
- KL: t. *E.*
yes
'Yes'
- OM: u. *cengmal cohahay-se kyaynay mwusun khonsethu-ka iss-tay-se kyay-lul*
Really like-so they something concert-NM exist-QT-so that child-AC
v. *po-le ka-n ke-ya, hankwuk-ey.*
See-in order to go-RL thing-INT, Korea-to

'She likes him so much. She heard **that they** [i.e., **those children**] would have a concert, so went to Korea to see **him** [i.e., **that child**].'
- KL: w. *hahaha*
(laughter)

OM in (6e) reconfirms the shared ground regarding Kaori's visit to Korea, using an interactional sentence ender, the agreement-seeking marker *-canha* 'right?' KL confirms the shared knowledge by saying *ung* 'yes'. OM continues her talk about Kaori, explaining that she went to Korea to see *Yeng-wen* (6g). However, KL does not know who Yengwen is and asks, 'to see what?' (6h). In explaining, OM employs the adnominal form *ku* in *ku kei* 'K(-Pop)' in (6i), trying to jog KL's memory. *Ku*, as an cataphor, indicates that the referent it marks is also known to the addressee, that is, it is shared information. However, OM immediately changes the focus of her explanation from *Yengwen* to *K-Pop*. OM tries again to make sure they have shared ground regarding Kaori, asking KL, *ku enni K-Pop payn-i-canha* 'she [i.e., that sister] is a K-Pop fan, right?' (6i). However, she soon realizes that KL does not even know about K-Pop, so she suddenly modifies her utterance again by switching from the agreement-seeking SE *-canha* to the declarative sentence ender *-ya*: *K-Pop payn-i-ya* '[I tell you that she] is a K-Pop fan'. This example indicates that the speaker's knowledge regarding whether the addressee already knows the referent or not is an important motivating factor in the employment of *ku* demonstratives.

As OM expected, KL does not know about K-Pop, asking her back, *K-Pop? kukey mwe-ya* 'what is that?' in (6j) and (6l). *Kukey* is a reduced form of *kuke ka*, which is the combination of the pronominal *kuke* 'that thing' and the subject particle *ka*. *Kuke* is the best anaphoric form to

substitute for an inanimate pronoun, such as *K-Pop*, and OM also uses the form twice as a floor holding device when she initiates her turn to explain it to KL in (6o) and (6q). *Kyay* in (6q) is a reduced form of the adnominal *ku* and the noun *ai* ‘child’, and refers to the person previously mentioned, that is, *Yeng-wen*. OM’s abrupt use of *kyay* in the course of explaining K-Pop signals the speaker’s belief that the addressee can identify the referent marked by the anaphoric *ku* and the animate nominal *ai* ‘child’. Even when OM refers to the five members of the group, she keeps using the anaphoric *ku*, as in *kyayney* (6u), which is a plural form of *kyay*. By frequently employing anaphoric *ku* demonstratives, OM confirms that the referent is mentioned previously and the information is shared by the addressee.

Excerpt 6 demonstrates how a speaker elicits an addressee’s active involvement in the course of confirming shared ground, and gradually establishes joint attention. That is, as this excerpt shows, the frequent use of *ku* demonstratives not only relates to the prior speech, creating coherence in the context, but also indexes interpersonal involvement between the speaker and the addressee by evoking shared ground between them. The anaphoric use of *ku* demonstratives in Excerpt 6 also shows that *kuke* ‘that (thing)’ is used for a referent expressed by a proper noun (such as *K-Pop*), *kyay* ‘that child’ for a human referent, and *kyayney* for a plural human referent. In other words, the anaphoric use of *ku* demonstratives has a close relationship with the lexical category of the referent.

Another remarkable characteristic of Korean anaphoric *ku* demonstratives is in the frequent use of conjunctive adverbials, especially by female speakers. In my dataset, the most frequently used conjunctive adverb is *kulaykaciko/kulaykacko* ‘so, accordingly’, followed by various other conjunctive adverbs such as *kulentey/kuntey* ‘but, however’, *kukayse* ‘so, therefore’, *kulemyen/kulem* ‘if so, then’, and *kulenikka/kunikka/kukka* ‘so, therefore’. The existence of various clausal conjunctive suffixes and the agglutinating nature of Korean provide the environment for clause-linking. Conjunctive adverbial demonstratives are composed of the predicate stem *kule(ha)/kuli(ha)* and a clausal conjunctive suffix. The predicate stem *kule/kuli* primarily has the anaphoric function, substituting for the preceding sentence or utterance, while the clausal connective carries the referential properties of a conjunctive adverbial. The referential meanings retained from the clausal conjunctive suffixes play very important roles in interactional discourse. In my data, most of the conjunctive adverbials have variant forms in spoken discourse, which are mostly shorter, and this variation has to do with functional change (meaning and

form). Excerpt 7 shows examples of *kulaykacko*, *kuntey*, *kulayse*, *kulenikka*, and *kulem*, among others.

Excerpt 7

- HC: a. *nan Ok-mi enni-ka kunyang phapl.i.nyenseyng-i-la-ko kulay-se*,
I Ok-mi sister-NM just 82 year born-be-DC-QT say so-so
b. ***kulaykacko*** *ya neney tongkap-i-ney?*
So VOC you guys same age-be-APP
c. ***kulaykacko*** *na-n kulehkey al-ko-iss-nuntey*
So I-TC like that know-INF-being-but
- ‘I heard from Ok-mi that she was born in 1982, **so** [she said] you guys are the same age! **So**, I knew that, but’
- YS: d. *Ung.*
Yes
‘Yes’
- HC: e. ***Kuntey***, *Yeng-cin-i enni-ka kapcaki na-pokwu camkkanman Hyen-ceng-a ne meych sal-i-ci?*
But, Yeng-cin-VOC sister-NM suddenly I-to wait Hyen-ceng-VOC you how old-be-Q
g. *ile-nun ka-ya. Kulayse nay-ka na phal.i.nyensayng-i-canh-ayo?*
Do like this-RL thing-INT so I-NM I 82 year born-be-you see-POL
- ‘**But**, Yeng-cin suddenly asked me like this, how old are you? **So**, I was born in 1982, you know.’
- YS: h. *hahaha.*
(laughter)
- HC: i. *nay-ka ilay-ss-nuntey kulenikka Yeng-cin-i enni-ka ya camkkanman*
I-NM say-PST-but then Yeng-cin-VOC sister-NM VOC wait
j. *Yeng-sin-i na-lang kath-un hakpen-i-ntey ile-nun ke-ye.yo.*
Yeng-sin-VOC I-with same-RL school year-be-you know say like this-RL thing- POL
‘I said like this. **So** Yeng-cin told me like this, wait, Yeng-sin is the same grade as me.’
- YS: k. *hahaha.*
(laughter)
- HC: l. ***Kulaykacko*** *nay-ka*
So I-NM
‘**So**, I...’
- YS: m. *mianhay, ppal-un phal.i-la(se)*
Sorry early-RL 82-be-so
‘I am sorry, I was born early in 1982.’
- HC: n. ***Kulaykacko*** *nay-ka a, kulay-yo?*
So I-NM oh, be so-POL
o. *kulem na kulem kunyang ettehkey mal-ul hay-ya-toy-ci?*
Then I then just how word-AC do-must-become-Q
- ‘**So**, I said, oh, oh, really? **Then, then**, what should I do [i.e., what speech style should I use]?’

YS: p. *Um.*
 I see
 ‘I see’

In Excerpt 7, HC is telling YS about an embarrassing incident, which happened because she misunderstood her friend’s age. In telling the story, HC vividly shows her subjective stance (e.g., shock, surprise, embarrassment) by using direct quotations and interactional sentence enders, which results in the addressee’s strong attention to the talk. The frequent use of conjunctive adverbs seems to be related to the speaker’s discourse strategies to continue the talk by implying that the following utterance is related to the previous one. HC explains why she misunderstood her friend’s age, saying that it is because Ok-mi told her that Yeng-sin was the same age as her (7a). *Kulaykacko*, which is the reduced form of *kulaykaciko* ‘so, accordingly’ and the connective suffix *-e/a kaciko* are used for logically connecting a cause/reason with its consequence/result. However, the initial *kulaykacko* in (7b) does not clearly show the cause-result relationship, rather, the conjunctive suffix *e/a-se* ‘because’ as in *phapl.i.nyenseyng-i-la-ko kulay-se* ‘because she said, I was born in 1982’ in (7a) has this function. By holding the floor using *kulaykacko* in (7b), HC inserts an additional remark about what Ok-mi actually said, which became the trigger of HC’s misunderstanding. Thus, *kulaykacko* in (7b) facilitates the speaker’s discourse planning as she continues her talk, indicating that the previous utterance is the reason of the following utterance. *Kulaykacko* in (7c) has a relatively clear cause-result relationship, indicating that Ok-mi’s remark became the reason why the speaker misunderstood Yeng-cin’s age (7c).

The third use of *kulaykacko* (7l) initiates an explanation of how HC reacted when Yeng-cin told her that Yeng-sin is the same age as Yeng-cin. However, HC’s explanation initiation is interrupted by YS’s interference (7m). HC then reinitiates her turn using the same utterance as in (7l), and she continues to talk about how she acted. In fact, not all instances of *kulaykacko* in Excerpt 7 obviously mark the cause-result relationship. Besides, their omission never effects the meaning of the utterance. However, they have important discourse functions that organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. *Kulaykacko* is frequently observed in the initial position of a turn unit as in (7l) and (7n), and it is textually conjoined to the preceding utterance. It is used as a floor holder to develop talk relevant to the prior talk.

The conjunctive adverb *kuntey* ‘but, however’ (7e), which is a reduced casual form of *kulentey*, has two main referential meanings: contrast and background information. *Kuntey* in (7e) has to do with contrast marking, implying that the previous utterance shows contrast with the following utterance. In my data, the anaphoric *kuntey* is frequently used as a floor holder as talk unfolds that is relevant to the prior talk. However, in nonphoric reference, it is frequently used as a (sub)topic-shifter at the initial position of an utterance, with the meaning ‘by the way’.

The conjunctive adverbs *kulayse* (7g) and *kulenikka* (7i) have a similar referential meaning as *kulaykacko* in that they mark a cause and effect relationship between the previous and the following discourse. Like *kulaykacko*, both conjunctive adverbs mainly function to create a cohesive connection within the discourse. While it is difficult to distinguish the causal connectives *-(u)nikka* and *-ese/ase*, Sohn (1992) claimed that *-(u)nikka* is speaker-oriented whereas *-ese/ase* is event-oriented. That is, the causal relation marked by *-(u)nikka* is based on the speaker’s subjective judgment or perspective, while the causal relation marked with *-ese/ase* is an objective description of events. Based on Sohn’s claim, we can presume that *kulenikka* has gained more various pragmatic functions in discourse than *kulayse*, expressing the speaker’s (inter)subjective stance. My data confirm the claim that *kulenikka* is used not only anaphorically, but also in nonphoric reference (e.g., DMs).

Kulem in (7o) is a short form of the conjunctive adverb *kulemyen* ‘then’, which consists of the demonstrative predicate stem *kuleha* and the conditional suffix *(u)myen*. The conjunctive suffix *(u)myen* refers to both ‘if’ and ‘when’ if it does not occur with the modal adverb *manil* ‘by any chance’ (Sohn, 2009). It has undergone functional change and is an adverbial of logical connection, denoting ‘then’. In Excerpt 7, *kulem* is used as a conditional in the context in which HC now finds that her supposedly same-age friend Yeng-sin is in fact one year older than her. Because age difference is an important variable in the choice of honorific speech style in Korean society, HC was shocked, and she expresses her shock vividly using indirect quotation of her own voice at the event time, “**then, then**, what should I do [i.e., what speech style should I use]?” in (7o). Thus, *kulem* logically connects the previous utterance and the following utterance.

There are still fuzzy boundaries between conjunctive adverbial forms used for anaphoric reference and DMs, but anaphoric conjunctive adverbial demonstratives have the referential property of connecting previous and following utterances, although they are also frequently used for the speaker’s discourse planning, such as in the continuation of talk. In terms of the concept

of focus, the referent or discourse is already mentioned or shared between the interlocutors, so it is not necessary to strongly draw the addressee's attention, in contrast to the *i* demonstratives. Thus, the *ku* demonstratives signal lower focus than the *i* demonstratives.

6.2.2.2. Cataphoric Reference

In my data, the most frequently used cataphoric *ku* demonstrative is the adnominal *kulen* 'that kind of', followed by the pronominal *kuke* 'that thing'. The adnominal *kulen* usually occurs with *ke(s)* 'thing' to refer to an item. However, *kulen ke* 'that kind of thing' and the pronominal form *kuke* 'that thing' show contrast in meaning in that the former indicates that the referent is a general item whereas the latter indicates that the referent is a specific item. According to Suh (2002), *kulen ke* 'that kind of thing' as an anaphor is used as a "set marking tag" to signal to the addressee that the target referent is intended as an example. Thus, *kulen ke* is used when the speaker has a belief that the addressee understands what s/he means.

Excerpt 8 presents a fragment of conversation that shows how *kulen ke* 'that kind of thing' is used.

Excerpt 8

- SS: a. *mwe ilhay yocum-ey?*
 well work these days-in
 'Do you work these days?'
- TU: b. *a, ce-nun il an-hay-yo. Hyung-un ilha-sey-yo?*
 ah I-TC working not-do-POL older brother-TC work-SH-POL
 'Ah, I don't work. What about you?'
- SS: c. *na il il an-ha-ci. An-ha-nuntay*
 I working working not-do-SUP not-do-but
 d. *Il an-h-ay. ha-ko siph-untay mos ha-c-an-h-a.*
 working not-do-INT do-and want-but cannot do-NOM-not-do-INT
 'I don't work, don't work, but. I don't work. I want to work, but can't, you know.'
- TU: e. *a, macta yuhaksayngtul, kulen ke iss-eya*
 oh right foreign students that kind of thing have-must
 f. *working permit-i-n-ka? ilha-l-swu.issta-ko kule-ten-tey...*
 working permit-be-RT-Q work-PRS-can-QT say so-RT-but
- 'Ah, right, foreign student. Is that a working permit or **something like that**? I heard that they can work when they have that kind of thing.'
- SS: g. *e, working permit*

yes working permit
'Yes, [we must have a] working permit.'

In Excerpt 8, SS and TU are asking each other if they are working. SS in (8c–d) says that he wants to work, but cannot. By using the agreement-seeking sentence ender *-canha* 'you know' SS implies that TU knows the reason why he cannot work. TU has a hint of what SS is talking about and immediately tries to verbalize it, but he is not sure of the word so employs the adnominal phrase *kulen ke* 'that kind of thing' (8e). The semantic meaning of *kulen ke* in (8e) is not 'working permit' but 'something like a working permit'. That is, it indicates that a working permit is an example of the things that permit international students to work legally. The use of *kulen ke* draws the addressee's attention to the referent, giving her/him the option of finding an appropriate item. TU's uncertainty regarding the referent also appears in the following indirect question structure, *working permit-in-ka?* 'Is that a working permit?' The indirect question is also a good motivating factor to elicit the addressee's attention. Furthermore, the anaphoric use of *kulen ke* implies that the referent is also known to the addressee, and it also elicits the addressee's cooperation in finding the appropriate referent form. Finally, with *kulen ke* TU is effectively supported by SS's answer, *e working permit* 'Yes, [we must have a] working permit' in (8g). Thus, the use of *kulen ke* 'that kind of thing' is perceived as expressing the speaker's desire for interpersonal involvement and solidarity with the addressee, which supports Suh's (2002) claim.

Kulen ke in Excerpt 8 clearly refers to items of the same category, that is, inanimate items like working permits. However, most of the instances in my data do not refer to items, but to the whole sentence of the following utterance. Semantically, *kulen ke* does not specify an item, so the use of *kulen ke* makes it possible for the referent to be indirect and vague, also giving impression that the speaker is uncertain. The speaker's uncertainty has the function of softening the utterance because it makes the statement unassertive and indirect. This function is effective in such situation in which explicit mention of a referent would be impolite and socially inappropriate. Furthermore, the anaphoric *ku* emphasizes common ground, so is useful to mitigate face-threatening act.

6.2.2.3. Nonphoric Reference

The *ku* demonstrative forms most frequently used in nonphoric reference are the conjunctive adverbials *kunikka/kukka* ‘so, therefore’ and the adnominal form *ku* ‘that’. *Kunikka* and *kukka* are the reduced forms of *kulenikka* ‘so, therefore’ and primarily appear in spoken discourse. As mentioned in Section 6.2.2.1, the semantic meaning of the causal connective *(-u)nikka* is associated with the speaker’s subjective judgement, so we can easily presume that compared to other conjunctive adverbs, *kulenikka* has gained more various pragmatic functions in discourse over time. The phonological change from *kulenikka* to *kkukka/kunikka* also has to do with functional change. *Kukka/kunikka* in nonphoric uses seems to lose much of its function as a causal linker, and is primarily used for the discourse strategy of prefacing repairs of prior talk such as rephrasing, paraphrasing, or modifying information.

In Excerpt 9, OM and KL are talking about how they can describe *chakhada* ‘good, nice’ in English.

Excerpt 9

OM: a. *ceynthel, khaindu*,
gentle kind
‘Gentle, kind’

KL: b. *khaintu, ung, wuli nala, aa nay sayngkak-ey wuli nala*,
Kind yes our country um, my opinion-to our country
c. *kukka yenghan sacen-eyse kuus-ul chac-umyen*
I mean, English-Korean dictionary-in good-AC look up-if
d. *chak.ha-n ike-y iss-ess-ci siph-ta*.
Chak.hata-RL this-NM have-PST-perhaps think-DC

‘Kind, yeah, our country, ah, in my opinion, our country, I mean, when I look up the word “good” in the English-Korean dictionary, there might be the meaning of chakhada.’

OM: e. *aa*.
I see
‘I see’

In (9b), KL initiates her turn, but she has a hard time formulating what she really wants to say. By prefacing her utterance with *kukka* in (9c), KL formulates what she wants to say: “I mean, when I look up the word ‘good’ in the English-Korean dictionary...” Therefore, *kukka* in (9c) is used as a floor holder before rephrasing or elaborating on the prior talk. In this nonphoric

use, *kukka* does not convey a semantic meaning of cause and result and is not used as a clausal linker, but is a pragmatic marker for a discourse strategy.

Kukka ‘I mean’ in my data has the following discourse functions: (1) prefacing repairs of prior talk by rephrasing or paraphrasing; modifying; expanding on additional information in response to the addressee’s misunderstanding of prior talk; (2) searching for an appropriate word; and (3) initiating (sub)topic change. Interestingly, *kukka* enables the speaker to hold a turn for a relatively long time. In discourse where *kukka* frequently occurs, the addressees tend to avoid backchanneling, which indicates that *kukka* strongly supports the continuation of talk.

Excerpt 10 illustrates how the adnominal form *ku* is used in cataphoric reference.

Excerpt 10

- YK: a. *Um, kuntey nay sayngkak-ey No.Mwu-hyen-un, ung, mwe-la-ko hay-ya-ci?*
 Well, however my opinion-in No Mwuhyen-TC, yes, what-DC-QT say-must-Q
 ‘Well, by the way, in my opinion, No Mwuhyen is, well, what should I say?’
- b. *nemwu ku, mal silswu-lul manhi ha-nun kes kath-ay, cincca.*
 Too much that, speech mistake-AC a lot do-RT thing seem-INT, really
 ‘Well, committing too much impropriety in speech, truly.’

In Excerpt 10, YK is talking about the former President of Korea. As the utterance *ung, mwe lako hayyaci?* ‘well, what should I say?’ (10a) indicates, YK has a hard time describing President No with an appropriate expression. However, although the referent in question exists only in the speaker’s mind and the addressee cannot access it, by using the question-like utterance ‘what should I say?’ the speaker seeks the addressee’s cooperation, involving him in the discourse. *Ku* in (10b) is primarily used to hold the floor while the speaker searches for an appropriate expression, but it also carries the interactional function of eliciting the addressee’s attention. Kim and Suh (2001) defined *ku* as a “prospective indexical,” which means that “the speaker has a momentary difficulty retrieving, selecting, or constructing a lexical item or a proposition” (p. 204). As the referential meaning of the demonstrative *ku* suggests—that something marked by *ku* is closer to the addressee—the meaning of *ku* in discourse expanded to indicate shared knowledge; something marked by *ku* can be identified by the addressee. Therefore, *ku* has the function of eliciting the addressee’s effort to identify the projected referent.

6.2.3. Korean *Ce* Demonstratives

The Korean demonstrative *ce* marks distance from both the speaker and the addressee and is most frequently used as a deictic marker. Although only 19 tokens of *ce* demonstratives occur in my data (i.e., 1.9% of all the Korean demonstratives), they are used not only for exophoric reference, but also for cataphoric and nonphoric reference. See Table 21.

Table 21. Korean *Ce* Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>Ce</i>	12 (63.2%)	0	3 (15.8)	4 (21.1%)	19 (100%)

6.2.3.1. Exophoric Reference

The exophoric use of demonstratives has to do with spatiotemporal deixis, primarily situationally identifiable. The temporal noun *ceben* ‘that time’ always refers to the past, and the pronominal forms *ceki* ‘that place’, *ceccok* ‘that side’, and *cyay* ‘that child’, which is a short form of *ce* ‘that’ + *ai* ‘child’, are used to refer to a place or person far from the speaker. In my data, two instances of the predicate form *celay* ‘to be like that’, as in *way celay* ‘why is (s/he behaving) like that’, are used to describe someone’s childish behavior in a speech situation.

Excerpt 11 show that *ce* demonstratives are used to refer to an entity that does not exist in the speech situation.

Excerpt 11

- SS: a. *kipwun taykey napp-a.*
 Feeling very bad-INT
 b. *ku, yocum-ey ku Kim.Byeng-hen sonkalak kuke iss-canh-a*
 that recent-in that Kim.Byen-hen finger that thing have-you see-INT
 ‘I feel really bad. Well, recently, that Kim Byeng-hyen finger, you know it, right?’
 TU: c. *Yey.*
 Yes
 ‘Yes’
 SS: d. *kukes-to cheum wa-ss-ul ttay-nun kukka, kulehkey salam-tul-i hay-to*

- That thing-al first time come-PST-PRS time-TC I mean, like that people-PL-NM do-although
 e. *cyay-ka na-hanthey hay-to kipwun nappu-ci anh-ass-kutun?*
 That child-NM I-to do-although feeling bad-NOM do not-PST-you know
 f. *cyay-ka way cele-ni, cyay mwe-ya? mak kulay-ss-nuntay,*
 that child-NM why do like that-Q, that child what-INT really do so-PST-but
 g. *yocum-ey-nun mak ccoch-a-ka-ko siph-e. hahaha.*
 Recent-in-TC really chase-INF-go-NOM feel like-INT. (laughter)

‘When I came here the first time, I mean, even if people did it, even if **that guy** did that to me, I did not feel bad, you know. That guy, why is he doing that, what’s wrong with him?’ I thought. These days, I want to chase after him. (laughter)’

Just before this fragment, SS and TU were talking about how they felt when American people treated them (as Asian people) in a derogatory way. In Excerpt 11, SS brings up a related topic, an incident in which Kim Byeng-hyen, the Korean baseball player, flipped off home fans in a baseball game. In saying that he did not feel that bad the first time he was flipped off (11e), SS uses *cey* ‘that guy’ to point to someone who flipped him off as if the person is in the speech situation. *Cey* semantically denotes ‘that child’, and in normal conversation can be used only to a person who is the same age or younger than the speaker. However, the referent marked by *cey* is not in the speech situation, and it does not specify a definite person. SS expresses his offended feelings with the word, as well as in (11f), saying *Cay way celeni? Cey mewya?* ‘Why is **he** doing that? What’s wrong with **him**?’ *Celeni* has the syntactic structure of the demonstrative predicate *cele(h)ta* combined with the addressee-familiar question marker *ni*, and indicates the speaker’s negative feelings, such as criticism and blame, toward the referent’s behavior. Thus, all instances of *cay* in Excerpt 11 are used to refer to a person who is not in the speech situation, and both *cay* and the predicate form *celeni* imply the speaker’s negative feeling. By bringing the conceptual person into the speech situation in this way, SS expresses his feelings very vividly and effectively. This example supports Hanks’s (1992) indexical framework by showing that the use of *ce* demonstratives is not static, but changes based on the indexical ground the participants establish for the interaction.

6.2.3.2. Cataphoric Reference

Only three tokens of *ce* demonstratives for cataphoric reference appear in the data. All instances are the pronominal *ceki* ‘that place’ and are used to refer to a place in the following utterance, as in Excerpt 12.

Excerpt 12

- KY: a. *ney cepen-ey-nun mwe, ceki, camay-nim manh-un kyohoy-lo*
I last time-in-TC something that sister-HT many-RT church-to
b. *olmki-ko sipta-ko kulay-ss-canh-a.*
move-NOM want-QT say so-PST-you see-INT

‘Last time, didn’t you tell me, well, **the place**, you want to move to a church where they have many female Christians, right?’

- SH: c. *way kulay? Hyeng-i camay-nim manh-un kyohoy-lo olmki-n ke-y*
Why say so brother-NM sister-HT many-RT church-to move-RT thing-NM
d. *kulisuto yenhap kamlikyohoy-canh-a.*
Christ united Methodist church-you see-INT

‘Why are you like that [i.e., what’s wrong with you]? It is you that moved to Christ Methodist Church where they have a lot of female Christians, you know.’

- KY: e. *hahaha*
(laughter)

In Excerpt 12, KY is starting to tease SH about moving to a different church. KY uses *mwe* ‘what’ and *ceki* ‘that place’ in (12a) as hesitation markers before formulating what to say next. The use of *ceki* indicates the speaker’s difficulty in gaining cognitive access to the target word, while signaling that the target word is related to a place in terms of the category. *Ceki* ‘that place’ refers to the following relative noun phrase, *camaynim manhun kyohwoy* ‘church where they have many female Christians’. The two other instances of *ceki* in my data are also used to refer to a place during the speakers’ momentary difficulty retrieving a lexical item in cataphoric reference.

6.2.3.3. Nonphoric Reference

Excerpt 13 is an example of when the adnominal *ce* is used for nonphoric reference. It is employed as a politeness marker to avoid specifying the referent. The speaker strategically employs the demonstrative form *ce* when he thinks that verbalizing the target referent is inappropriate or impolite in the situation and believes that the unspecified referent would be understood by the addressee. Such avoidance uses of the Korean demonstratives cannot be achieved without socially shared ground between the interlocutors, again showing that

demonstratives carry social meaning.

Excerpt 13

- OM: a. *kule-l ttay-n kulekey taytapha-ci.*
like that-PRS case-TC like that answer-SUP
'In that case, you should answer like that.'
- KL: b. *mwe*
What
'what'
- OM: c. *ce, nampenkam manna-nun kes-ey ttal-ase thul-ley-ci-n-ta-ko*
well Mr Right meet-RT thing-by depend-by different-intend-become-IN-DC-QT
'Well, it depends on Mr. Right.'
- KL: d. (laughter) *kuleykacko nay-ka a molu-kess-ta-ko cikum*
so I-NM ah do not know-guess-DC-QT now
'(laughter) So, I said, I don't know now.'

In Excerpt 13, OM and KL are talking about a man KL recently met on a blind date. In the previous interaction before this fragment, KL told OM that the man asked her where she would like to live in the future, but she could not answer because she had not thought about it before. OM reproaches KL by telling her what she should have said in (13c). OM uses a direct quotation to convey it more vividly, as if the man is in the speech situation. OM's use of *ce* in the initial position of (13c) can be regarded as a hesitation marker with two functions: (1) to initiate an important utterance or formulate an upcoming utterance and (2) to mitigate the upcoming face-threatening act. In fact, OM's suggested remark in (13c) would have been a face-threatening act if it had been directly said to the man. Thus, the use of *ce* is used as a politeness strategy to reduce the remark's illocutionary force. KL's laughter at the initial position of (13d) indicates that she does not take OM's remark seriously because it sounds too awkward and rude. In (13d), KL continues with an utterance relevant to her talk prior to OM's remark, using the conjunctive adverbial *kulaykacko*, 'so, accordingly'.

As we have seen, the pronominal form *ceki* and the adnominal form *ce* are the dominant forms for nonphoric use. The speaker employs these forms when s/he searches for an appropriate word or utterance, formulates what to say, and holds the floor so as not to be interrupted by the

addressee. In addition to marking the speaker's cognitive difficulty in specifying the referent or utterance, *ce* demonstratives also function as politeness markers in mitigating and face-saving strategies to reduce utterances' illocutionary force. Because the current study's dataset is built on conversation between close friends, it contains few demonstratives in this function. Two instances occur in contexts in which the speaker needs to avoid saying something clearly or the speaker hedges while doing an FTA. The politeness function of *ce* demonstratives is very important because it is related to social functions that are situated and negotiated in social context (Silverstein, 1976). Thus, the politeness strategy is one of the important motivating factors in a speaker's choice of the *ce* demonstrative forms in Korean nonphoric reference.

6.3. Japanese Demonstratives

As shown in Table 14 (Chapter 5), the most frequently used Japanese demonstratives in my dataset are the medial *so*-series (46.5%), followed by the distal *a*-series (27.2%) and the proximal *ko*-series (26.3%). This study further divides the Japanese demonstratives by the four types of reference to investigate how they are actually used in casual speech. Table 22 shows the results of the frequency count by reference type. In the following sections, I will explore what kinds of meanings, motivations, and interactional functions Japanese demonstratives carry in the context of casual speech by analyzing the reference types in context.

Table 22. Japanese Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>Ko</i> -	63 (75%)	16 (19%)	5 (6%)	0 (0%)	84 (100%)
<i>So</i> -	3 (1.9%)	153 (96.2%)	3 (1.9%)	0 (0%)	159 (100%)
<i>A</i> -	5 (5.4%)	30 (32.3%)	7 (7.5%)	51 (54.8%)	93 (100%)

6.3.1. Japanese *Ko*-series Demonstratives

Table 23 shows the total frequency of Japanese *ko*-series demonstratives according to reference types. The distribution indicates that the dominant use of the *ko*-series forms is exophoric reference (75%), which is followed by anaphoric reference (19%) and cataphoric reference (6%). Use of the *ko*-series for nonphoric reference is not found in my data.

Table 23. Japanese Ko-series Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>Ko-</i>	63 (75%)	16 (19%)	5 (6%)	0 (0%)	84 (100%)

6.3.1.1. Exophoric Reference

As discussed, exophoric reference involves spatial reference, which refers to entities in the speech situation, and temporal reference, which concerns the times involved in and referred to in discourse. Table 24 shows the *ko*-series forms used for exophoric reference further divided according to category. The pronominal forms (54%) are most frequent, followed by nominal forms (23.8%). Compared to Korean, Japanese employs a greater variety of lexical words to indicate place and time in a speech situation. The most frequently used forms for describing a place are the pronominal *kocchi* ‘this way’, which is the informal form of *kochira*, and *koko* ‘here’. The nominal *konoaida*, *konomae*, and *konosaki* ‘the other day’ are frequently used for past time reference, and *kondo* ‘this time’ and *konshuu* ‘this week’ for future time. The 15 instances of *ko*-series nominal forms in my data are all used for temporal reference.

Table 24. Japanese Ko-series Demonstratives: Exophoric Reference by Category

Noun	Pronoun	Adnominal	Adverb	Total
15 (23.8%)	34 (54%)	8 (12.7%)	6 (9.5%)	63 (100%)

In the casual conversations that form this study’s dataset, the participants frequently compared their current life in the United States to their life in the past and in other places. The pronominal *kocchi* can refer not only to the place where the speaker is, but also to places from which the speaker or both the speaker and the addressee are excluded. This latter use often shows the speaker’s negative feeling toward the referent, as exemplified in Excerpt 16, from a conversation between two female speakers, CK and SS.

Excerpt 14

CK: a. *nani?*
what

- SS: b. *chigau-n-da-tte.* *Konoaida-saa, kinyoobi-wa jugyoo nai-kara,*
Wrong-NOM-DC-QT recently-IP Friday-TC class not-so
c. *jaa, gogo-kara issyoni asoboo-ne-tte i-tte-ta-noni,*
then afternoon-from together play-IP-QT say-and-PST-but
- CK: d. *un.*
yes
- SS: e. *sakki denwashite-mi-tara, Satoo kyoo nani*
a little while ago make a phone call-try-then Satoo today what
- CK: f. *un.*
yes
- SS: g. *suru no toka iw-are-te,*
do Q or something say-PAS- and
- CK: h. *un.*
yes
- SS: i. *haa? toka omo-tte.*
INJ or something think-and
- CK: j. *un.*
yes
- SS: k. *iya Maiki koso nani sun no tte-yut-tara,*
No, Michael indeed what do NOM QT-say-then
l. *(I)ya wakannai-kedo toka iw-are-te.*
well do not know-but or something say-PAS-and
m. *tte-yuu-ka sa, kocchi-no ko sa, yakusoku shi-temo zettai wasure-te-(i)ru ne.*
QT-say-Q IP, here GEN child IP make promise-but definitely forget-and-being IP
- CK: n. *nee*
IP
- SS: o. *honmani*
really
- CK: p. *shinji-rare-nai*
Believe-can -not
- CK: What is it?
- (b-g) SS: No, it's not. The other day, he said, "I don't have any class on Friday, so let's hang out in the afternoon," but I called him right before, and he asked me, "What are you doing today, Satoo?"
- CK: Yes.
- (k-m) SS: Eh? I was so surprised. Then I also asked him, "What are you doing today?" He answered that he had no idea.
Well, **the guys here** forget easily, regardless of whether or not they make a promise.
- CK: You are right!
- SS: That's true.
- CK: I can't believe it!

In Excerpt 14, SS complains about her American male friend, who had forgotten his promise to hang out with her on a certain day. By using *kocchi no ko* (*kocchi* 'here' + *no* 'genitive particle' + *ko* 'child') 'the guys here' (14m) to refer to young men in America, the speaker shows her antipathy toward the referent. In other words, she is calling them children, and excluding herself and the addressee from the place these children are located. Japanese personal pronouns do not make an inclusive-exclusive distinction. However, SS creates a space excluding

the speaker and the addressee by using *kocchi* ‘here’. The interactional particle *-sa* after *kocchi no ko* (14m) indicates the speaker’s desire to draw the addressee’s attention in her talk. Thus, by using *kocchi no ko sa*, SS effectively elicits the addressee’s attention to her talk and displays her negative feeling toward the referent, locating the referent far from both the speaker and the addressee and creating common ground between the interlocutors. CK’s prolonged interactional particle *nee* ‘I agree with you’ in (14n) and emotionally loaded expression *shinjirarenai* ‘I can’t believe it’ in (14p) indicate that the speaker effectively conveyed her emotion to the addressee, successfully establishing interpersonal involvement. Excerpt 16 demonstrates that the speaker’s “here-space” (Enfield, 2003) can change based on the indexical ground that the speaker frames in a given context.

Exophoric uses are not limited to spatiotemporal reference. The adverbial *koo* ‘like this’ and the adnominal *kooyuu* ‘this kind of’ can be employed to describe the speaker’s present situation vividly, as Excerpt 15, a conversation between two male speakers, demonstrates.

Excerpt 15

- KZ: a. *De, sorosoro, kekkon toka mo, hahaha.*
 And sooner or later marriage something also (laughter)
 ‘And, sooner or later, (I’m thinking of) marriage something like, (laughter)’
- KT: b. *ah, kekkon kangae-teru-n-da.*
 Oh, marriage think-being-NOM-COP
 ‘Oh, you are thinking of marriage.’
- KZ: c. *sanjuu gurai made shi-tai tte omo-tte.*
 30 around until do-want QT think-and
 ‘I have thought (of marriage) by around my thirties.’
- KT: d. *ah, soo? wakai-yo.*
 Oh, like that young-IP
 ‘Oh, really? It is too early!’
- KZ: e. *wakai-n-ssu-ka?*
 Young-NOM-POL-Q
 ‘Is it early?’
- KT: f. *ano, iya, ano tatoeba jibun-ga imejishi-teru s anjuu,*
 That, no, that for example self –NM imagine-being 30
 ‘Well, I mean, well, for example, thirty (years old) that I imagined,’
- KZ: g. *aa.*
 Oh
 ‘Oh, I see.’

- KT: h. ore **koo** naru daroo-na tte-yuu no to genjitsu ima
 I like this become maybe-IP QT-say thing and reality now
 ‘I would probably be **like this**, but the reality now,’
- KZ: i. chigai-masu ne.
 Different-POL IP
 ‘It’s different, right?’
- KT: j. kuraberu to ore **kooyuu** yotee-ja.na-katta-noni tte-yuu-ka,
 Compare if I this kind of plan- COP. NEG-PST-but QT-say-Q
 ‘In comparison, I was not supposed to be like this but, something like.’

In Excerpt 15, KZ is saying to KT that he is thinking of marriage. However, KT says that it is too early, using the sentence final particle *yo*, which gives him an assertive tone. When KZ responds by asking if it is too early, KT tries to explain what he means, initiating his turn with a hesitation marker: *ano, iya, ano* ‘well, I mean, well’ (15f). In explaining his point, KT brings up the age of 30, which is when he imagined getting married (15f). In fact, KT is almost 30 years old at the time of this talk. Now KZ realizes what KT wants to talk about, as expressed by his change of state marker *aa* ‘oh, I see’ in (15g). KT further elaborates his previous remark, saying **koo naru daroona** ‘I would probably be **like this**’ in (15h). The adverb *koo* ‘like this’ in (15h) describes the predicate *naru* ‘to be/become’, and *koo naru* ‘to be/become like this’ is related to the speaker’s imagined future. He expresses his past thought using indirect quotation and as if he is talking in the present time, as indicated by *tte yuu no* ‘the thing I say’ (15h), which has the syntactic structure of the quotation marker *tte*, the verb *yuu*, and the nominalizer *no*. KT’s self-quote effectively elicits KZ’s attention to what he says, and KZ responds with *chigaimasu ne*, which includes the agreement marker *ne* (15i). This implies that KT now has KZ’s attention. Even though KT is talking about a personal thing, the topic is also related to KZ’s life in that everyone worries about their own future and makes plans. KT also adds his point that the reality is different from what he once imagined: ore **kooyuu** yotee ja nakatta noni ‘I was not supposed to be **like this** but’ in (15j). In fact, this remark is also made using an indirect quotation, as *tteyuuka* ‘saying something like’ indicates. *Kooyuu* ‘this kind of’ in (15j) is the adnominal form, which is the combination of the adverb *koo* ‘like this’ and the verb *yuu* ‘to say’, and modifies the noun *yotee* ‘plan’. Compared to other adnominal forms such as *kono* and *konna*, *kooyuu* makes reference to something unspecific and insignificant, relying on the addressee’s interpretation of the speaker’s intention. With the contrast clausal conjunctive suffix *noni* ‘but’ in (15j), *kooyuu yotee* ‘this kind of plan’ indicates the speaker’s negative evaluation of the present situation as

not really what he imagined. In Excerpt 15, *koo* and *kooyuu* do not function as straightforward deictics referring to a specific item, but to the speaker's situation. By employing the *ko*-series demonstratives in indirect quotation, the speaker elicits the addressee's attention strongly and conveys his feeling indirectly but vividly.

6.3.1.2. Anaphoric Reference

The *ko*-series form most frequently used for anaphoric reference is the pronominal *kore*. Out of 16 tokens, 13 were used for this function. Excerpt 18 illustrates this usage.

Excerpt 16

- KY: a. *Ikonomi obu yua contsuru*
Economy of your country.
'Economy of your country'
- KT: b. *hai, jappan desu ne,*
Yes, Japan COP IP
'Yes, [it's about] Japan, right?'
- KY: c. *boku wa hontoo kore*
I TC really this
d. *kanari shiriasu-ni uketome-nai to mazui desu yo.*
Really serious-AD take-not if not good COP IP
'I, really, this, [it's] not good if we don't take it very seriously.'
- KT: e. *unun. hontooni kore wa kore bakkari wa,*
Yes, yes, really this TC this only TC
f. *tatoeba ichiban eekyoo shite-n no-ga,*
for example most influence do-being thing-NM
g. *ma, jibun-tachi-da to shi-tara tatoeba shokuba, shigoto, un.*
Well, self-PL-COP QT say-if for example working place job yes
'Yes. Really, **this**, [at least] only **this**, for example, the thing that has the greatest effect is, well, if it is related to us, for example, occupation, job, ah, well, I can't find a job that I want at all with **this** [i.e., the economic situation].'

Excerpt 16 begins when KY is reading the assigned topic of their conversation in English (16a), which KT confirms by translating it into Japanese (16b). KY initiates giving his opinion, referring to the topic with *kore* 'this', and saying that they need to take it very seriously (16c–d). KT displays shared agreement with KY, by responding *unun, hontooni, kore wa kore bakari wa* 'yes, yes, certainly, **this** is, at least **this** is' (16f). Thus, both KT and KY refer to the topic with

kore rather than the unmarked anaphoric *sore*. The primary reason for this may be that they took the topic to be located close to them, because the paper on which the topic is written is right in front of them. However, *kore* is used anaphorically as well, in that the referent marked by *kore* is not the paper, but the topic previously mentioned. The spatial or temporal closeness affects the interlocutors' choice of demonstrative for this anaphoric function. *Sore* could be used in this situation but with a different connotation. The use of *sore* would give an impression that the interlocutors are considering the topic objectively, as if the economy of Japan has nothing to do with them. However, the use of *kore* suggests the interlocutors' emotional relationship to the topic, which is appropriate given their comments about taking it seriously. *Kore* is also frequently used to maintain topic persistence in my data.

6.3.2. Japanese *So*-series Demonstratives

As in Korean, the most frequently used demonstratives in Japanese are the medial demonstratives, which in Japanese are the *so*-series. As Table 25 shows, almost all of the *so*-series demonstratives in my dataset are used for anaphoric reference (96.2%). Anaphoric *so*-series demonstratives frequently occur in sequentially dependent units of discourse and are used for creating coherence within discourse.

Table 25. Japanese *So*-series Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
3 (1.9%)	153 (96.2%)	3 (1.9%)	0 (0%)	159 (100%)

6.3.2.1. Exophoric Reference

Only three tokens of *so*-series demonstratives for exophoric reference occur in the data. All of them are the pronominal *soko* 'there', which refers to a place relatively close to both the speaker and the addressee. An example of its use appears in Excerpt 17, which is an exchange between two female speakers, CK and SS.

Excerpt 17

CK: a. *Nanka, konomae-ni sa, Fabian no kanojo ga sa,*
 Something, last time-in IP Fabian GN girl friend NM IP

‘Well, a few days ago, Fabian’s girl friend, you know.’

SS: b. Un.
Yes
‘yes’

CK: c. *Ano, aato birudinguni i-tta hoo ga ii yo tte it-te-ta.*
That, Art building in go-PST way NM good IP QT say- being-PST
‘Well, she said that we had better go to the Art Building.’

SS: d. Un.
yes
‘Yes’

CK: e. *Kakkoi otoko-no-hito ippai iru yo tte it-te-ta.*
Handsome man-GN-person a lot have IP QT say-being-PST
‘She said that we could see a lot of handsome guys.’

SS: f. *Maji? Aato birudingu sugu soko ja-n.*
Really? Art building right there COP-NEG
‘For real? The Art Building is right over there, isn’t it?’

CK mentions the Art Building, where a mutual acquaintance said they can see a lot of handsome guys. In (20f), SS says the Art Building is ‘right over there’, using the medial demonstrative form, *soko* ‘there’. Semantically, *soko* refers to a place close to the addressee, so the distal *asoko* should be used in this situation. However, when the speaker and the addressee are facing in the same direction, the demonstrative *so*-series refers to a place relatively close to them, whereas the distal *asoko* refers to a place relatively far from them. All three instances of *soko* in my data are used in this function.

6.3.2.2. Anaphoric Reference

The demonstrative *so*-series as anaphora refer to an entity previously mentioned in discourse. All anaphoric *so*-series demonstratives in my data are further divided according to their category in Table 26. As the table shows, the most frequently used are pronominal forms (43.1%), followed by adnominal forms (38.6%). Some conjunctive adverbial forms (8.5%), adverbial forms (7.2%), and nominal forms (2.6%) also occur. The pronominal *sore* ‘that’ is dominant in anaphoric reference, and the place pronominal *soko* is also frequently used to refer not to a place, but to an entity previously mentioned in discourse. Unlike Korean, Japanese conjunctive adverbials make a logical connection between a previous and a later utterance, and are not much used for discourse strategies.

Table 26. Japanese So-series Demonstratives: Anaphoric Reference by Category

Noun	Pronoun	Adnominal	Adverb	Conjunction	Total
4 (2.6%)	66 (43.1%)	59 (38.6%)	11 (7.2%)	13 (8.5%)	153 (100%)

Excerpt 18 shows the adnominal *sonna* ‘that kind of N’ used to express the speaker’s negative stance. Prior to this fragment, SH and MK were talking about the textbooks they used in elementary school.

Excerpt 18

- SH: a. *kyookasyo mo shinka shi-teru tte koto da yo.*
textbook also evolution do-being QT fact COP IP
‘That means that textbooks also have improved, you know.’
- MK: b. *ne, kilimanjaro ga no-tte-ta yatsu ne.*
IP Kilimanjaro NM put-being-PST thing IP
‘You know, the thing [i.e., music book] that had a Kilimanjaro song in it.’
- SH: c. *nani are?*
what that
‘What is that?’
- MK: d. *ta ta ta ta ta.*
la la la la la
‘Lalalala...’
- SH: e. *shir-an, sonna no.*
know-not that kind of thing
‘I don’t know, **that kind of** thing [i.e., song].’
- MK: f. *hahaha*
(laughter)
- SH: g. *gomen sonna uta wa shir-an.*
sorry that kind of song TC know-not
‘Sorry, but I don’t know **that kind of** song.’
- MK: h. *a-tta-n-da yo. kilimanjaro tte yuu no ga*
Exist-PST-NOM-COP IP Kilimanjaro QT say thing NM
‘We had it, you know. The song called Kilimanjaro...’

MK in (18b) brings up a music textbook that had a song about Mt. Kilimanjaro in it. However, SH shows a sarcastic attitude, saying *nani are?* ‘what is that?’ in (18c). MK tries to sing the melody, but SH again responds coldly, saying *shira-n, sonna no* ‘I don’t know **that kind of**

thing’ (Osaka dialect) in (18e). The adnominal form *sonna* ‘that kind of’ is used with the defective noun *no* ‘thing’ to refer to something unspecific. However, she makes it more specific by using *sonna uta* ‘that kind of song’ in (18g). In this case, the speaker could choose another unmarked anaphoric form, *sono* ‘that’, as in *sono uta* ‘that song’, or the pronominal form *sore* to make her comment much clearer, but SH chooses to stick with *sonna*. By employing the adnominal *sonna* rather than the pronominal *sore* or the adnominal *sono*, the speaker signals to the addressee to evaluate the speaker’s feeling about the referent, which in this case is that she considers it insignificant or trivial. According to Naruoka (2006), by using *sonna*, a speaker pushes the referent to the addressee’s side. In this way, a speaker can express strong feelings including ridicule, criticism, and even threat toward the addressee. However, *sonna* is more frequently found in my data in teasing interactions, rather than showing real conflict in the conversation. According to Maynard (1997), in an *uchi* context, where strong personal relationships exist, for example, among friends, family members, and even between teachers and students, it is quite common to see “Japanese people express frustration, anger, hostility, and fury” (p. 97). Maynard attributed this effect to the strong *amae* relationship (Doi, 1971), which she defined as “psychological and emotional dependence” (Maynard, 1997, p. 33).

6.3.2.3. Cataphoric Reference

I found only three instances of *so*-demonstratives for cataphoric reference: two of the adnominal *sooyuu* ‘that kind of’ and one of the pronominal *sore* ‘that’. In Excerpt 19, MK is telling SH about when she was in sixth grade.

Excerpt 19

- MK: a. *roku-nensee no toki tte tabun nani shi-ta ka*
6th-grade GN time QT maybe what do-PST Q
b. *oboete-nai na. demo tabun, juken mokuzen-de*
remember-not IP but maybe entrance exam right before-at
c. *tabun sooyuu nanka taihenna koto wa*
maybe that kind of something tough thing TC
d. *yar-asare-na-katta kioku ga aru.*
Do-PAS-not-PST memory NM have

‘I don’t remember what I did when I was in sixth grade in elementary school. However, probably because it was right before the [middle school] entrance exam, probably, that kind of, something like, I remember I was not forced to do hard things.’

SH: e. *zenzen juken nante syoogakusee-de yat-te na-katta yo.*
 Not at all entrance exam saying elementary school student-COP do-being do not-PST IP
 ‘Elementary students never study for the entrance exam.’

In explaining that she was not forced to do anything else hard while preparing for the entrance exam, MK uses the cataphoric adnominal *sooyuu* ‘that kind of’ (19c). *Sooyuu* here refers to the *taihenna koto* ‘hard things’ she mentions next (19d). This use of *sooyuu* is as a floor holder during a momentary difficulty retrieving a memory. MK’s use of *nanka* ‘something’ right after *sooyuu* has the same function, indicating that the target referent is not a specific or important item, but something the addressee can imagine. In this way, *sooyuu* functions to give time to the speaker for discourse planning and signals a lower degree of Focus than the *ko*-series demonstratives.

6.3.3. Japanese A-series Demonstratives

The Japanese *a*-series demonstratives refer deictically to something distant from both the speaker and the addressee, but anaphorically to shared ground between the interlocutors. Their most frequent function in my dataset is for nonphoric reference (54.8%), followed by anaphoric (26.9%), exophoric (10.8%), and cataphoric (7.5%) reference, as presented in Table 27.

Table 27. Japanese A-series Demonstratives: Distribution by Reference Type

	Exophoric	Anaphoric	Cataphoric	Nonphoric	Total
<i>A-</i>	5 (5.4%)	30 (32.3%)	7 (7.5%)	51 (54.8%)	93 (100%)

6.3.3.1. Exophoric Reference

In my data, only five instances of *a*-series demonstratives are used for exophoric reference, when they point to an entity relatively far from the speaker and the addressee. The most frequently used form is the pronominal *acchi*, for describing a direction. The adnominal *ano* ‘that’ is also used with other place nouns to point to a more specific entity, such as *ano ue* ‘**that** upper side’ in (20e). Excerpt 20 shows how the Japanese *a*-series is used for exophoric functions.

Excerpt 20

- SS: a. *watashi wa asoko-to itte-mi-ta-katta n da.*
 I TC there-to go and-try-want-PST NOM COP
 ‘I really wanted to visit that place, you know.’
- CK: b. *doko?*
 Where
 ‘where?’
- SS: c. *yueichi nai no sa,*
 UH inside GN IP
 ‘On the UH campus,’
- CK: d. *un.*
 yes
 ‘yes’
- SS: e. *ano ue no hoo no koosya. Huru-kute kirei tte*
 That upsid GN way GN school building gold-and beautiful QT
 f. *yu-tte-ta ja-n, Chie-chan.*
 Say-being-PST COP-NEG Chie-VOC
 ‘Old school buildings on **that** upper side. I heard that they are old and beautiful.
 [Don’t you remember] Chie told us, right?’
- CK: g. *ue no hoo?*
 Upside GN way
 ‘the upper side?’
- SS: i. *un un un.*
 Yes yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes, yes.’
- CK: j. *acchi no sutudento saabisu sentaa no hoo?*
 That way GN student service center GN way
 ‘Is that the side of **that** student service center?’
- SS: k. *soo soo, motto ue.*
 Right right, more upside
 ‘Right right, but more up.’
- CK: l. *shi-ran. watashi wa asoko gurai made shika it-te,*
 Know-do not I TC there around up to only go-and
 m. *asoko toka moo acchi no laibureri toka ano hen*
 ther or something now that side GN library or something that side
 n. *shika it-te-ta koto nai kedo,*
 only go-being-PST experience do not but
 ‘I don’t know. I have visited only up to **that place**, I have visited only **that** place or the library,
 more on **that** side, or around **that** vicinity.’

In Excerpt 20, SS is talking about visiting a place; she uses the place noun *asoko* in (20a), which is cataphoric, so CK asks her where (20b). SS says it is the old school buildings located on *ano ue* ‘that upper side’ of the campus. *Ano* here is used to point to a side of the campus far away from where the interlocutors are located. CK still does not know where SS means, so asks if it is on the same side as the student service center (20j). CK uses *acchi* to refer to the student service center. *Acchi* here has a deictic function as well as a recognitional function, as it points to a place both the speaker and the addressee know. SS answers that the place she is talking about is even further up. In (20l), CK says that she has only been as far as *asoko* ‘that place’, referring to the student service center she mentioned in the previous utterance. Thus, *asoko* in (20l) is used anaphorically. CK lists the places she has visited on that side of the campus: the student service center, the library, and that vicinity, in (20m–n). CK points to the library with *acchi*, which again functions not only deictically but also recognitionally, because the place is known to both interlocutors. The use of *ano* in *ano hen* ‘that vicinity’ in (20m) refers to the vicinity of the library already mentioned, and thus it is anaphoric. In Excerpt 20, seven instances of *a*-series demonstratives are used to refer or point to places that are familiar to both interlocutors, and are thus shared ground. Only three of these instances are used for genuine exophoric reference, while the others are endophoric. The frequent use of the *a*-series demonstratives for endophoric functions indicates that information status (i.e., sharedness) is an important motivating factor in the choice of one demonstrative form over another.

6.3.3.2. Anaphoric Reference

In my data, 30 instances of *a*-series demonstratives are used for anaphoric reference. They all point to an entity shared by the interlocutors. The most frequently used anaphoric forms are the pronominal *are* ‘that’ and the adnominal *ano* ‘that’. Excerpt 21, from a conversation between YN and DN, shows the Japanese *a*-series’ anaphoric function.

Excerpt 21

- YN: a. (*I*)*ya, demo, Orudo Neebi ii yo ne?*
 No but, Old Navy good IP IP
 b. *yasui shi, nedan mo are da shi.*
 Cheap and, price also that COP and

‘By the way, Old Navy is good, isn’t it? It’s cheap and, the price is also **that**.’

DN: c. *are tte hontooni zenbee toka de yuume?*
 That QT really all America or something in famous
 ‘Is **that** really famous in America?’

YN: d. *a, yoku wakar-anai*
 ah, well know-not
 ‘Oh, I don’t know well.’

In Excerpt 21, YN suddenly changes his subtopic from the prior talk of shopping by using *(i)ya demo* ‘by the way’ in (21a). Bringing up the brand Old Navy, he requests DN’s agreement that Old Navy is good, by using the agreement-seeking marker *yone* ‘right?’ in an assertive voice. He then states reasons why it is good: *yasui shi* ‘it is cheap, and’ and *nedanmo aredashi* ‘the price is **that**’ (21b). In fact, the two reasons are identical, so the second is not necessary. *Are* in (21b) sounds like it refers to his prior utterance, *yasui* ‘cheap’. However, it can also be construed as referring to an indefinite item, but with an empathetic function to foreground their shared knowledge of the cheap prices. That is, although he does not specify an exact item, he may have a belief that the addressee knows what he means. DN then asks YN if **that** is really famous in America, by using *are* anaphorically to refer to Old Navy (21c). The choice to use the *a*-series rather than the unmarked anaphoric *so*-series for referring to entities previously mentioned involves information status. As Kuno (1973) claimed, the anaphoric *a*-series demonstratives can be used for referents of which both the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge. In terms of sharedness of information between the interlocutors, the anaphoric *a*-series signals Low Focus.

However, I also found that the *a*-series demonstratives are used anaphorically to refer to a referent that the speaker and the addressee do not have shared knowledge of. This function is restricted to the pronominal *are*. Excerpt 22 is the first part of the fragment in Excerpt 18, which showed the anaphoric use of the *so*-series demonstratives, but here it is reemployed to explain *are*’s anaphoric function.

Excerpt 22

SH: a. *kyookasyo mo shinka shi-teru tte koto da yo.*
 textbook also evolution do-being QT fact COP IP
 ‘That means that textbooks also have improved, you know.’

MK: b. *ne, kirimanjaro ga no-tte-ta yatsu ne.*

IP Kilimanjaro NM put-being-PST thing IP
 ‘You know, (it was) the thing [i.e., music book] that had a Kilimanjaro song in it.’

SH: c. *nani are?*
 what that
 ‘What is that?’

MK: d. *ta ta ta ta ta.*
 la la la la la
 ‘Lalalala...’

SH: e. *shir-an, sonna no.*
 know-not that kind of thing
 ‘I don’t know, **that kind of** thing [i.e., song].’

In (22b), MK is telling SH about a music textbook that included a song about Mt. Kilimanjaro. However, SH asks her with a mocking voice, *nani are?* ‘what is **that?**’ in (22c). *Nani are?* is a noncanonical word order variation of *are nani?* *Are* in (22c) refers to the music textbook that MK mentioned previously, but as a referent that SH does not have knowledge of. As the talk continues, SH uses the *so*-series, saying *shira-n, sonna no* ‘I don’t know that kind of thing’ (22e) to anaphorically refer to the melody that MK sings, and to indicate that it is unknown to her, which is the unmarked anaphoric function of *so*-series demonstratives.

Why then did SH use *are* to refer to an entity that she does not know? Interestingly, *are* in this use is often found in question structures and/or noncanonical word order utterances, as in (22c). Ono and Suzuki (1992) suggested that noncanonical word order is employed when the speaker is expressing emotion. Therefore, rather than indicating a referent, anaphoric *are* for an unshared referent is regarded as having an interactional function; that is, it is a way for the speaker to involve the addressee in the conversation emotionally.

6.3.3.3. Cataphoric Reference

The adnominal *are* in cataphoric reference is also frequently used as a device to elicit the addressee’s attention despite a lack of shared knowledge between interlocutors. Excerpt 23 is from a conversation between SS and CK.

Excerpt 23

SS: a. *un. are shi-tteru?*
 yes that know-being
 ‘Yes. Do you know **that?**’

- CK: b. *nani?*
what
'What is it?'
- SS: c. *hato, hato ga naze annani hue-ta no ka.*
Dove dove NM why like that increase-PST NOM Q
'Doves, why have they increased.'
- CK: d. *are ya-roo. kekkonshiki no yatsu yaroo.*
that COP-perhaps wedding ceremony GEN thing perhaps
'It is probably **that**. It is probably the things [i.e., doves] for wedding ceremonies.'
- SS: e. *nande shi-tte-n nen* (Osaka dialect).
why know-being-NOM Q
'How do you know that?'
- CK: f. *sonna (no) shi-tteru wa. dare ga yu-tot-ta.*
that kind of thing know-being IP someone NM say-being-PST
'I know that kind of thing. I heard someone saying [it].'
- SS: g. *watashi desu.*
I COP (POL)
'It was I.'
- CK: h. *Saya, Saya-chan nandomo yut-tot-ta.*
Saya Saya-VOC several time say-being-PST
'Saya, Saya was talking [about it] several times.'

Excerpt 23 starts with SS's cataphoric question to CK, *are shitteru?* 'do you know **that**?' in (23a). The addressee's response, *nani?* 'What is it?' in (23b), reveals that she is paying close attention to SS. In (23c), SS clarifies her question, saying 'Why have they [i.e., doves] increased?' By using *are* in a question structure and in a context where it does not seem to be shared information between interlocutors, SS tries to enhance the emotional connection to the referent, as we have seen in the anaphoric function of *are*. *Are yaroo* 'It is probably **that**', uttered by CK in (23d), consists of the cataphoric *are* and the speaker's conjecture auxiliary verb *yaroo* 'I guess'. It indicates that she knows the answer, but it is based on her conjecture. *Are* refers to CK's following utterance, *kekkonshiki no yatsu yaroo* 'It is probably the things [i.e., doves] for wedding ceremonies' in (23d), which has the structure of the noun phrase and the auxiliary verb, *yaroo*—an identical structure with *are yaroo*. By using *are*, CK tries to hold the floor and elicit the addressee's attention to her upcoming utterance. However, SS does not seem to expect that CK will know the answer, based on her utterance, *nande shitten nen* 'how do you know?' in (23e). CK answers using the cataphoric *sonna (no)* in *sonna (no) shitteru wa* 'I know

that kind of thing’ in (23f). Because the answer turns out to be shared information, CK should have used *anna (no)* ‘that kind of thing’ rather than *sonna (no)* in (23e). However, by using *sonna (no)*, CK expresses her feeling of unbelieving attitude toward the addressee because the answer is obvious and not that hard as SS expected. Excerpt 23 demonstrates that the meaning of each demonstrative form is not determined, but situation-bound and flexible according to the indexical ground that the speaker frames in the course of interaction.

6.3.3.4. Nonphoric Reference

More than half (54.8%) of the 93 tokens of *a*-series demonstratives in the data are used for nonphoric reference. The nonphoric forms are restricted to the adnominal *ano*, which seems to be the most conventionalized Japanese discourse marker in casual speech between close friends, as it is the only nonphoric form found in my data. When *ano* is used as a discourse marker, the last vowel is often prolonged for the speaker’s discourse planning. *Ano* in discourse retains the sense of shared experience and knowledge between the interlocutors. Accordingly, the use of *ano* involves the addressee actively, functioning to maintain solidarity and facilitate interactive conversation. *Ano* is often used with the interactional particle *ne* to draw the addressee’s attention, so it is also frequently used as an attention getter.

Ano occurs as a floor holder with great frequency in my data. Excerpt 24 is an example to illustrate this function.

Excerpt 24

- YN: a. *Ato sa, omiyage toka okur-oto suru to, kondo zeekin*
 Again IP gift or something send-intend do if this time tax
 b. *kakaru desh-oo. Kanzee ga. Dakara,*
 take POL-perhaps tax NM so

‘And, when we try to send gifts, this time we have to pay tax, which is the customs duty. Therefore,’

- DN: c. *A, soona-n da.*
 Oh, like that-NOM COP
 ‘Oh, is that so?’

- YN: d. *Un. Kanzee ga kakaru. Motte-kaet-temo soo da kedo,*
 Yes, Tax NM take take-return-although like that COP but
 e. *anoo, uketoru toki ni shinkokusho o dashi-tari toka*
 that, receive time at declaration form AC submit-and or something
 f. *shi-na-kya ike-nai ppoi kara.*

Do-not-if work-do not seemikeru because

‘Yes. We have to pay customs duty. Even when you take gifts, it is the same, but, **well**, when you even receive them, it seems that you need to submit the customs declaration form.’

DN: g. *Ah, sore dore kurai?*
Oh, that how much about

‘Oh, how much does it cost?’

Prior to the conversation in Excerpt 24, YN and DN were talking about a delivery service from Hawai‘i to Japan. They concluded that if it were cheap, they would use such a service often. In the first part of Excerpt 24, YN remembers the fact that if they send gifts, they also need to pay the customs duty. However, DN seems not to know this fact, so YN assures him that they would need to pay it, and then provides further information on the topic. YN uses *anoo* in (24e) as a floor holder between two clauses connected by the conjunction *-kedo* ‘but’. By using *anoo* the speaker organizes what to say next, and at the same time directs the addressee’s attention to his upcoming utterance, thus emphasizing his final point about submitting the customs declaration form.

Excerpt 25 is the first part of Excerpt 15, which was used to demonstrate exophoric reference, but it is reemployed here to discuss the use of *ano* for nonphoric reference.

Excerpt 25

KZ: a. *De, sorosoro, kekkon toka mo, hahaha.*
And sooner or later marriage something also (laughter)
‘And, sooner or later, (I’m thinking of) marriage something like, (laughter)’

KT: b. *ah, kekkon kangae-teru-n-da.*
Oh, marriage think-being-NOM-COP
‘Oh, you are thinking of marriage.’

KZ: c. *sanjuu gurai made shi-tai tte omo-tte.*
30 around until do-want QT think-and
‘I have thought (of marriage) by around my thirties.’

KT: d. *ah, soo? wakai-yo.*
Oh, like that young-IP
‘Oh, really? It is too early!’

KZ: e. *wakai-n-ssu-ka?*

Young-NOM-POL-Q
'Is it early?'

KT: f. *ano, iya, ano tatoeba jibun-ga imejishi-teru s anjuu,*
That, no, that for example self-NM imagine-being 30
'Well, I mean, well, for example, thirty (years old) that I imagined,'

KZ: g. *aa.*
Oh
'Oh, I see.'

In (25d), KT says it is too early for KZ to think about marriage, in an assertive voice, as the sentence final particle *yo* indicates. KZ then asks if it is too early, using the *-n desuka* form, which indicates a request for an explanation. KT is hesitant in his response, perhaps because his previous utterance may have sounded a little too assertive. He then tries to rephrase what he said, initiating his utterance with *ano* in prolonged form in (25f). As the literal meaning of *iya* 'no' indicates, *ano, iya* 'well, I mean' implies that he meant not that 30 itself is too early, but something else. *Ano*, as it is used here, indicates the speaker's attempt to reduce a blunt impression of that utterance that may disappoint the addressee. KT uses another *ano* to initiate his explanation of what he really meant by giving an example, as the word *tatoeba* 'for example' indicates in (25f). Thus, KT's initial *ano* is used as a device for adjusting the relationship between interlocutors who do not share similar assumptions, and his second *ano* is used to preface a repair by modifying or rephrasing what he said before. In my data, *ano* is frequently used for these functions.

Because the dataset for this study is based on casual speech between close friends, the context of a direct disagreement with the addressee was not found, but *ano* is often used when the speaker directs his point, expressing the speaker's intersubjective stance for the addressee's position. The use of *ano* plays an important role in softening utterances and establishing an interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), one politeness strategy used by speakers when they need to perform a face-threatening act is to mitigate the illocutionary force of their utterance by emphasizing common ground and by involving the addressee actively in the discourse (i.e., positive politeness). Thus, the anaphoric meaning of *ano* is related to politeness and it is very important to maintain solidarity and smooth interaction in spontaneous conversation.

6.4. Summary and Discussion

6.4.1. Korean Demonstratives

The Korean *i* type demonstratives in exophoric reference index spatiotemporal meanings. However, in my data, the highly frequent pronominal *yeki* ‘here’ for exophoric reference is not employed to point to a place proximal to the speaker, but instead has to do with the place the speaker considers “here” at a particular moment for a particular purpose. For example, the pronominal *yeki* ‘here’ can be construed as a place where the speaker and the addressee do not belong when the speaker expresses negative feeling toward the *yeki* ‘here’ group. Thus, the meaning of demonstratives is constantly changing during interaction. Anaphoric *i* demonstratives have to do with the speaker’s cognitive domain and the speaker’s knowledge that is unknown by the addressee. However, the speaker makes an assumption that the addressee can imagine the referent without having experienced it, based on what is being said. In anaphoric reference, predicate forms are the most frequently used. They are often combined with various sentence enders and can be used to mark direct quotations, which are produced as if being spoken in the current speech situation. Thus, anaphoric *i* demonstratives effectively grab the addressee’s attention and enhance the addressee’s interest by adding vividness to stories. The adverbial form *ilehkey* ‘like this’ is frequently found in cataphoric reference. It is used for the speaker’s discourse planning as it allows the speaker to temporize and delay while organizing what to say. The cataphoric *ilehkey* ‘like this’ is often used to mark a quotation or to describe a situation or object, and is often accompanied with a body gesture. It has the effect of implying that the referent is in the speaker’s immediate cognitive domain and will be mentioned soon. The most frequently used nonphoric demonstrative form is the adverbial *ilehkey*. Its variant *ikhey* more frequently occurs in casual speech. In this function, it loses much of the semantic meaning but gains pragmatic meanings, so it shows various interactional functions according to context.

More than 74% of Korean *ku* demonstratives in my dataset are used for anaphoric reference. In anaphoric reference, *ku* demonstratives refer to an entity previously mentioned and create coherence in the context, but they also have a recognitional meaning, indicating the referent is shared ground or information between the interlocutors. The frequently used adnominal *ku* ‘that’ and pronominal *kuke* ‘that’ elicit the addressee’s interest in the discourse by signaling that the referent is known to the addressee. Thus, these forms often serve to establish solidarity between interlocutors in discourse. One of the important characteristics of anaphoric

ku demonstratives is the frequent use of conjunctive adverbials, such as *kulaykaciko/kulaykacko* ‘so, accordingly’, *kulentey/kuntay* ‘but, however’, *kukayse* ‘so, therefore’, *kulemyen/kulem* ‘if so, then’, and *kulenikka/kunikka/kukka* ‘so, therefore’. The conjunctive adverbials frequently occur in short-form variants in casual speech and interact with various sentence enders. Semantically, they connect the previous and the following utterance, enhancing coherence in context, but speakers use them pragmatically as place holders to continue talking longer without being interrupted by the addressee. *Kulen ke* ‘that kind of thing’ for cataphoric reference is frequently used as a “set marking tag” (Suh, 2002) to signal the addressee that the target referent is an easily identifiable example of what the speaker intends to talk about. Thus, the use of *kulen ke* ‘that kind of thing’ indicates that the speaker is relying on the addressee in the communication about the referent. The most frequently used *ku* demonstrative forms in nonphoric reference are the conjunctive adverbial *kunikka/kukka* ‘so, therefore’ and the adnominal form *ku* ‘that’. Nonphoric *kunikka/kukka* has lost much of its semantic meaning as a causal linker and is primarily used for discourse planning, not only as a floor holder and a hesitation marker, but also as a repair initiator.

The Korean *ce* demonstratives mark distance from both the speaker and the addressee. They are often used to express the speaker’s negative feeling toward a copresent person or her/his behavior regardless of the physical distance between them. My data include no cases of overt blaming of a copresent person. However, *ce* was used for this function in the case when, in the course of story telling, a speaker brought a conceptual person in his mind into the speech situation and expressed his negative feeling toward the person or her/his behavior as if the person were present in the speech situation. The cataphoric use of *ceki* ‘there’ occurs when the speaker has a momentary difficulty retrieving a lexical item. The lexical meaning of *ceki* is related to a place distal from the speaker and the addressee, so the referent marked by *ceki* is in the same type of category in the following utterance. When *ceki* is used in nonphoric reference, which does not have any referent in the discourse, it is often a hesitation marker. The functions of hesitation markers can be divided into two. The first use has to do with the speaker’s cognitive difficulty while searching for an appropriate word or an upcoming utterance. The second use has to do with politeness. When a speaker engages in a face threatening act toward the addressee, *ce* demonstratives are useful for reducing the illocutionary force of the FTA. In this dataset of casual speech between close friends, only a few demonstratives occur in this function. As a

hesitation marker, it creates an impression that the speaker is somehow hesitant and uncertain about the utterance, which may lead to the speaker being perceived as having a modest attitude. Thus, although its frequency is low in my data, the politeness strategy of using *ce* demonstratives is socially motivated in Korean society, and politeness seems to be one of the important motivating factors for the choice of *ce* demonstratives in nonphoric reference.

6.4.2. Japanese Demonstratives

Like Korean *i* demonstratives, the Japanese *ko*-series demonstratives are frequently used for exophoric reference. They have to do with spatiotemporal reference and are frequently found in pronominal forms such as *kocci* ‘this side’ and *koko* ‘here’, and in temporal nominal forms such as *konoaida*, *konomae*, and *konosaki* for past time reference. Compared to the Korean use of the temporal *i* demonstratives, the Japanese use of temporal *ko*-series forms for exophoric reference is noticeably more frequent. Like Korean, Japanese does not distinguish inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns, but a speaker can express negative feelings by using the pronominal *koko* ‘here’ in an exclusive sense, implying that s/he does not belong to the *koko* ‘here’ group. This example demonstrates how “here-space” (Enfield, 2003) can change throughout ongoing interaction. Exophoric uses of the *ko*-series are not limited to spatiotemporal reference; the adverbial *koo* ‘like this’ can be used to describe the speaker’s present situation vividly. This usage often occurs in an indirect quotation, as if the utterance is being made in the current speech situation. The most frequently used *ko*-series form for anaphoric reference is the pronominal *kore* ‘this’. *Kore* is used anaphorically to refer to an entity in the immediate discourse. The sense of temporal closeness given by the *ko*-series in anaphoric uses also helps to maintain topic persistence.

The Japanese *so*-series demonstratives are the most frequently used among the three types. The pronominal *soko* ‘there’ deictically refers to a place proximal to the addressee, but is frequently employed to refer to a place relatively close to the speaker and the addressee when they are facing in the same direction. The most frequently used *so*-series forms for anaphoric reference are the pronominal and the adnominal forms. The pronominal *sore* as well as the place pronominal *soko* are frequently used to refer to an entity in the previous utterance. Unlike the Korean *ku* demonstratives, the Japanese *so*-series demonstratives do not carry the sense of shared knowledge between interlocutors, so the use of *sore* ‘that’ and *soko* ‘there’ gives the impression

that the interlocutors have an objective attitude to the referent. The adnominal *sonna* in anaphoric reference frequently expresses the speaker's strong feeling and indicates that the speaker is pushing the referent toward the addressee's side (Naruoka, 2006). *Sonna* is frequently used in my dataset when the speaker is in a playful mood and is teasing the addressee. This supports Maynard's (1997) claim that speakers express strong feelings frequently in contexts where "psychological and emotional dependence" exist (p. 33). Thus, we can assume that emotion is one of the important motivating factors in the choice of the *so*-series demonstratives for anaphoric reference.

The Japanese *a*-series demonstratives deictically refer to something that is at a distance from both the speaker and the addressee, but anaphorically refer to shared ground between the interlocutors. In the *a*-series, the most frequently used anaphoric forms are the pronominal *are* 'that' and the adnominal *ano* 'that'. The speaker's belief that the referent is known to the addressee involves emotional solidarity between the interlocutors. However, the *a*-series demonstratives are also found in situations when the speaker and the addressee do not have shared ground in regard to the referent. This function is restricted to the pronominal *are* and often appears in question structures or noncanonical word orders, as in *nani are?* 'what is that?' The use of *are* in this function marks the speaker's emotional involvement in the discourse (Ono & Suzuki, 1992) by confirming a shared emotion between the interlocutors, rather than indicating the referent. The function of the adnominal *are* for cataphoric reference is very similar to that for anaphoric reference in that it is also frequently used as a device to elicit the addressee's attention despite the lack of shared knowledge between interlocutors, and it also often appears in a question structure. Cataphoric reference in general has the function of eliciting the addressee's attention more strongly than the other reference types because the target referent appears in a later unit of discourse. Nonphoric reference with the *a*-series is restricted to the adnominal *ano*. *Ano* anaphorically retains the meaning of shared experience and knowledge between the interlocutors. Accordingly, the use of *ano* attempts to actively involve the addressee in the discourse, enhancing solidarity and coalignment between the interlocutors. *Ano* in my data is used for various interactional functions such as holding the floor, getting attention, initiating a new turn or (sub)topic, and prefacing a repair. *Ano* is also used as a device for adjusting the relationship between interlocutors who do not share similar assumptions. This use has to do with a politeness strategy. When the speaker does a face threatening act, *ano* is a useful mitigator because it emphasizes common ground and increases

interpersonal involvement. Thus, using *ano* for nonphoric reference is regarded as an interactional strategy to make talk situationally appropriate, to encourage smooth communication, and to maintain solidarity. Thus, like the Korean *ce* demonstratives, the Japanese *a*-series demonstratives for nonphoric reference are often motivated by politeness.

6.4.3. Gradient Focus in Korean and Japanese Demonstratives

Korean *i* and Japanese *ko*-series demonstratives are similar in that they are often accompanied by physical movement (e.g., a pointing gesture) to point to an object in exophoric reference. Thus, they help stimulate the addressee's consciousness of a particular referent, and are a powerful means to draw the addressee's attention. When they are used for anaphoric reference, they contribute to making conversation vivid, by describing referents as if they were present in the speech situation. The anaphoric *i* and *ko*-series demonstratives index the immediacy of what is being said and highlight the importance of the referent. Therefore, Korean *i* and Japanese *ko*-series demonstratives, which require the addressee's attention more strongly than any other demonstratives, signal High Focus.

The Korean *ku* demonstratives are similar to English *that* in terms of anaphoric functions. They refer to an entity that is shared ground between the interlocutors. As Strauss (2002) also claimed for *that*, the sharedness of information or knowledge is an important clue that *ku* demonstratives signal lower focus. Because the referent is already shared, the addressee is not required to pay as much attention to it. On the other hand, the Japanese *so*-series demonstratives when used for anaphoric reference do not signal shared ground between interlocutors, but are primarily employed to refer to an entity in the previous discourse. Thus, the addressee can access the referent relatively easily based on the coherence of context. Compared to the *ko*-series demonstrative forms, the Japanese *so*-series demonstratives give the impression of objectivity toward the referent on the part of the interlocutors and signal lower focus.

In anaphoric reference, the Japanese *a*-series demonstratives are very similar to the Korean *ku* demonstratives in terms of sharedness of information. They are frequently used to confirm shared ground between interlocutors. Thus, the *a*-series forms signal Low Focus. On the other hand, the Korean *ce* demonstratives are mostly used in exophoric reference to point to an entity away from both the speaker and the addressee, and are never used in anaphoric reference. In nonphoric reference, *ce* demonstrative forms do not have any implication of shared ground

regarding a referent. From the perspective of involvement, *ce* indexes a lower degree of involvement (e.g., interpersonal distance) and signals the addressee that the speaker does not want her/his help to find the target referent. This means that the addressee is not required to pay attention to the referent, suggesting that the *ce* demonstratives are very low in terms of focus.

These findings suggest that, while Korean and Japanese demonstratives fit into the focus framework in some ways, focus alone cannot adequately explain the use of the Korean distal demonstratives, which signal a low degree of focus in terms of interpersonal involvement. Thus, we need to distinguish the Korean *ce* demonstratives from the other forms in terms of the meaning they signal.

6.4.4. Other Motivating Factors

Korean and Japanese demonstratives also index the speaker's reliance on the addressee's cooperation while the speaker is searching for a referent. For example, the Korean *ku* demonstratives and the Japanese *a*-series carry the meaning of shared knowledge between the interlocutors. A frequent function of these demonstratives is to elicit the addressee's cooperation by actively involving her/him in the discourse. This finding is in line with Suh and Hong's (1999) description of demonstratives' use to express a speaker's involving or distancing stance toward the referent and/or addressee. In terms of sharedness, the Korean *ku* and the Japanese *a*-series signal a high degree of reliance on the addressee (i.e., interpersonal involvement), while the Korean *ce* demonstratives index a lower degree of reliance in that the referent is distanced from the speaker's cognitive domain, signaling that the speaker does not want to be interrupted by the addressee while searching for the referent. The Japanese *so*-series in anaphoric functions indicates that the topic or the referent has been already discussed with the addressee, so the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what s/he intends. Thus, the speaker often avoids repeating already mentioned information by using the *so*-series, which, however signals a lower degree of reliance on the addressee than the *a*-series. In my data, both Korean and Japanese proximal demonstratives are used for referents unknown or new to the addressee, but in most contexts, their use is based on the speaker's assumption that the addressee can imagine the referent based on what is being said or the context. They frequently occur when the speaker is relying on the addressee's cooperation while searching for a referent. Thus, the Korean *i* demonstratives signal a higher degree of reliance on the addressee than the *ce* demonstratives,

but a lower degree than the *ku* demonstratives. On the other hand, in Japanese, the *a*-series shows a strong reliance on the addressee, while the *so*- and the *ko*-series signal a medium and a low degree of reliance, respectively. Hence, in this aspect, the gradient focus of the Japanese demonstratives is the opposite of what Strauss (2002) proposed for English. For example, speakers use the *ko*-series to signal a high degree of attention to the addressee, but low reliance on the addressee's cooperation when searching for a referent. In Japanese, the higher the focus, the greater the speaker's involvement with the referent, and the lower the interpersonal involvement. Thus, reliance on the addressee (i.e., interpersonal involvement) seems to be an important factor to explain the use of Japanese demonstratives in terms of gradient focus.

In Section 6.4.3 (Gradient focus in Korean and Japanese demonstratives), I suggested that it is not completely plausible to claim the Korean *ce* demonstratives are Low Focus, because what they signal varies in terms of focus. In my data, they index a high degree of intersubjectivity by expressing the speaker's concern for the addressee's position. This function is restricted to the pronominal form *ceki* and the adnominal *ce* in their nonphoric reference, and is in line with the Japanese adnominal form *ano*'s function as a politeness marker. As Cook (1993) claimed, distance is an abstract concept, but it may also metaphorically express the speaker's concern about the addressee, indexing politeness. When a speaker initiates a face threatening act, s/he needs to consider the addressee's face. Politeness markers function to save an addressee's face because they reduce a remark's illocutionary force. Thus, they are indispensable in Korean and Japanese society to maintain good relationships with others. That is, this is a socially motivated function.

6.4.5. Demonstrative Forms as an Interactional Resource

The choice of demonstrative forms in different categories is not random, but has to do with the speaker's (inter)subjective or interactional intentions. The Korean speakers in this study frequently used demonstrative forms in conjunctive adverb and predicate categories, whereas the Japanese speakers more often used demonstrative forms in pronoun and adnominal categories. Because demonstratives index the speaker's subjective stance toward the referent or the addressee, they provide important interactional resources. In Korean, the combination of the *i* demonstrative predicate stem (*ileha* 'to be/do like this') with various sentence enders effectively grabs the addressee's attention and enhances the addressee's interest by adding vividness to

stories. And, frequently, the use of the Korean conjunctive adverbials is associated with the speaker's discourse strategies to continue talking by implying the following utterance will be related to the previous one. They also interact with various sentence enders and effectively grab the addressee's attention. For example, the pronominal forms such as *ceke* 'that', *cyay* 'that child', *ceki* 'there', and even the predicate form *cele(ha)ta* 'to be/do like that' for Korean and *are* 'that', *acchi* 'that way', and *asoko* 'there' for Japanese indicate a referent in the same type of lexical category in discourse, while Japanese *soko* 'there' often refers not only to a place proximal to the interlocutors, but also to a referent or utterance already mentioned (i.e., anaphoric function). The spatiotemporal forms in Korean and Japanese are limited to nouns and pronouns. Anaphoric and cataphoric reference are frequently made with pronominal and adnominal forms in both languages. The adnominal forms *kulen* 'that kind of' in Korean and *sonna* 'that kind of' in Japanese, referring to an unspecific item, are used to index the speaker's (inter)subjective stance more than the adnominal *ku* in Korean and *sono* 'that' in Japanese. The former forms serve various interactional functions in context, such as expressing the speaker's emotional stance and fulfilling social functions associated with politeness. The Japanese anaphoric and cataphoric pronominal *are* 'that' retains a sense of sharedness, but does not always refer to an entity of which the addressee shares knowledge. When it has this meaning, *are* often appears in question structures and/or noncanonical word order, as in *nani are* 'what is that?' This functions to mark the speaker's emotional involvement with the addressee. These findings suggest that the interactional function of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in actual conversation is intertwined with their different morphosyntactic forms. That is, demonstrative forms are used as an interactional resource.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

This study took a holistic approach to the use of demonstratives in Korean and Japanese casual speech in two-party conversations between close friends in their 20s. Based on Strauss's (2002) concept of focus, this study explored how Korean and Japanese speakers employ demonstratives to draw more or less attention from their addressees. It further investigated how the semantic meanings of demonstratives, which are based on concepts of relative proximity/distance, are actually used in spontaneous conversation in context. The study explored the exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and nonphoric uses of demonstratives, and, when relevant, the importance of the forms' morphosyntactic category. In this way, it provides a detailed investigation of how each demonstrative form signals meaning differently.

The findings show distinct distributions by reference type in Korean and Japanese:

Korean demonstratives

Proximal:

exophoric (41.6%) > anaphoric (35.6%) > nonphoric (19.8%) > cataphoric (3%)

Medial:

anaphoric (74.2%) > nonphoric (22.7%) > cataphoric (3.1%) > exophoric (0%)

Distal:

exophoric (63.2%) > nonphoric (21.1%) > cataphoric (15.8%) > anaphoric (0%)

Japanese demonstratives

Proximal:

exophoric (75%) > anaphoric (19%) > cataphoric (6%) > nonphoric (0%)

Medial:

anaphoric (96.2%) > exophoric/cataphoric (1.9%) > nonphoric (0%)

Distal:

nonphoric (54.8%) > anaphoric (32.3%) > cataphoric (7.5%) > exophoric (5.4%)

This study also found that the interactional functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives has to do with their different morphosyntactic forms and the reference types. The

choice among demonstrative forms in different categories is not random, but has to do with the speaker's interactional intention as well as a language's communicative speech style. The most frequently used demonstrative forms are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28. The Most Frequently Used Demonstrative Forms in Korean and Japanese

Korean	<i>I</i> demonstratives	<i>Ku</i> demonstratives	<i>Ce</i> demonstratives
Exophoric	Pronominal: <i>yeki</i> 'here', <i>ike</i> 'this'		Pronominal: <i>ceki</i> 'there', <i>cyay</i> 'that child'
Anaphoric	Predicate: <i>ile(ha)ta</i> 'to be/do like this'	Conjunctive adverbial: <i>kulaykac(i)ko</i> 'so, accordingly' Pronominal: <i>kuke</i> 'that'	
Cataphoric	Adverbial: <i>ilehkey</i> 'like this'	Adnominal: <i>kulen (ke)</i> 'that kind of (thing)' Pronominal: <i>kuke</i> 'that thing'	Pronominal: <i>ceki</i> 'there'
Nonphoric	Adverbial: <i>ilehkey/ikhey</i> 'like this'	Conjunctive adverbial: <i>kunikka/kukka</i> 'so, therefore' Adnominal: <i>ku</i> 'that'	Pronominal: <i>ceki</i> 'there' Adnominal: <i>ce</i> 'that'

Japanese	<i>Ko</i>-series	<i>So</i>-series	<i>A</i>-series
Exophoric	Pronominal: <i>kocchi</i> 'this way', <i>koko</i> 'here' Nominal: <i>konoaida</i> , <i>konomae</i> 'the other day'	Pronominal: <i>soko</i> 'there'	Pronominal: <i>acchi</i> 'that place' Adnominal: <i>ano</i> 'that'
Anaphoric	Pronominal: <i>kore</i> 'this'	Pronominal: <i>sore</i> 'that', <i>soko</i> 'there' Adnominal: <i>sono</i> 'that', <i>sonna</i> 'that kind of'	Pronominal: <i>are</i> 'that ' Adnominal: <i>ano</i> 'that'
Cataphoric	Adverbial: <i>koo</i> 'like this'	Adnominal: <i>sooyuu</i> 'that kind of'	Pronominal: <i>are</i> 'that'
Nonphoric			Adnominal: <i>ano</i> 'that'

Table 29 summarizes the interactional functions of the demonstratives according to the reference types. It illustrates how traditional approaches to the study of demonstratives can be extended to fit more dynamic and interactive perspectives that take account of language usage in actual conversation.

Table 29. The Summary of Interactional Functions of Demonstratives in Korean and Japanese

Korean	<i>I</i> demonstratives	<i>Ku</i> demonstratives	<i>Ce</i> demonstratives
Exophoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The spatial meaning is not limited to the deictic center, but related to the speaker's conceptually defined area, so constantly changes. • Inclusive/exclusive distinction of first person pronoun is used to express the speaker's strong emotion. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The temporal meaning always refers to the past. • Expresses the speaker's negative feelings toward the copresent person or her/his behavior, regardless of physical distance.
Anaphoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicates the speaker's direct involvement with the referent, not experienced by the addressee. • Powerful strategy to draw the addressee's attention by adding vividness to the talk. • Indexes the immediacy of what is being said and highlights the importance of the referent. • The speaker believes that the addressee can imagine the referent without having experienced it, based on what is being said. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marks strong cohesive relation with the previous utterance. • Indicates a high degree of shared information. • Frequently accompanied with agreement-seeking markers (e.g., <i>-canha</i> 'right'), and signals interpersonal involvement. • Enhances solidarity between interlocutors by involving the addressee in the talk. 	
Cataphoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heightens the addressee's interest by making conversation vivid. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often refers to an unspecific item (e.g., <i>kulen ke</i> 'that kind of thing'), assuming that the addressee can understand what the speaker intends. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signals the speaker's low degree of reliance on the addressee to choose an appropriate word or expression.

Nonphoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signals the speaker's strong intention to continue talking. • Requires the addressee's attention most strongly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequently used to initiate a new turn (e.g., <i>ku</i>). • Powerful strategy to initiate repairs of prior talk (e.g., <i>kunikka/kukka</i>). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicates the speaker's momentary difficulty in gaining cognitive access to what to say. • Used as a politeness marker to reduce the remark's illocutionary force.
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Japanese	<i>Ko</i>-series	<i>So</i>-series	<i>A</i>-series
Exophoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carries a strong association with the spatiotemporal meaning. • Inclusive/exclusive distinction of first person pronoun is used to express the speaker's strong emotion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points to a relatively close place to both the speaker and the addressee (e.g., <i>soko</i>). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points to an entity relatively far from the speaker and the addressee.
Anaphoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indexes the immediacy of what is being said and highlights the importance of the referent. • Indicates the speaker's subjective stance toward the referent or topic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong anaphoric marker. • Indicates the speaker's objective stance toward the referent or topic. • Expresses the speaker's strong emotion (e.g., <i>sonna</i> 'that kind of'). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foregrounds shared ground between the interlocutors. • When referring to unshared referent, often involves the addressee in the discourse emotionally (e.g., <i>are</i> 'that').
Cataphoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heightens the addressee's interest by making conversation vivid. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Often refers to an unspecific item, which the addressee can imagine. • The addressee is not required to pay high attention to the referent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhances the psychological connection by confirming a shared emotion toward the referent.
Nonphoric			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draws the addressee's attention. • Prefaces a repair of the prior talk. • Used as a politeness marker to reduce the remark's illocutionary force.

The study suggests that the Korean and Japanese demonstratives fit into the focus framework in many ways, but Korean distal demonstratives cannot adequately be explained in terms of focus because they signal meaning differently. The Korean *ce* demonstratives in nonphoric reference signal a high degree of speaker intersubjectivity, expressing the speaker's concern for the addressee's position, and indexing politeness. I propose that politeness is an additional factor that can affect the choice of a demonstrative in Korean. Like the Korean *ce* demonstratives, the Japanese *a*-series demonstratives for nonphoric reference are also often motivated by politeness. However, my data also imply that the *a*-series shows a strong reliance on the addressee, while the *so*- and the *ko*-series signal a medium and a low degree of reliance, respectively. In other words, in Japanese, the higher the focus, the greater the speaker's involvement with the referent, and the lower the interpersonal involvement. Thus, reliance on the addressee (i.e., interpersonal involvement) seems to be an important factor to explain the use of Japanese demonstratives in terms of gradient focus.

These results support my preliminary assumption, which is that the speaker's intention in referring to any entity is very (inter)subjective and situation-bound. Hence, choices of demonstratives are not determined only by the degree of attention the speaker seeks from the addressee, but also by other factors related to the speaker's intentions in the course of interaction. This study demonstrated that interactional meaning comes from various sources, including the anaphoric function of each demonstrative, the speaker's emotional stance, the speaker's reliance on the addressee while searching for a referent (i.e., involvement), and socially motivated factors, as well as the various morphosyntactic forms of demonstratives available in each language. A further interesting finding of this study is that the motivating factor for choosing one demonstrative over another can differ in different languages.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this comparative study is not to present an overarching explanation for all uses of demonstratives in Korean and Japanese, but to provide information of potential importance for further crosslinguistic research on the use of demonstratives. I believe that my study makes a useful contribution to understanding the use of demonstratives in Korean and Japanese from a dynamic perspective. The study's findings strongly suggest the importance of interactional and social functions in Korean and Japanese demonstratives, which should be investigated in a greater variety of contexts in future research.

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